FBIS DAILY REPORT

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REAGAN'S COURSE: 'ILLUSORY AND DANGEROUS'

AU301917 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 30 Dec 81

[BTA observer Krasimir Drumev article: "Illusory and Dangerous Course"]

[Text] Sofia, 30 Dec (BTA) -- On the very threshold of the new year the President of the United States made another attempt at reversing the course of international relations back to their state of at least thirty years ago. In connection with the imposition of martial law in Poland, a measure rightly deemed as extremely necessary by every sober-minded politician and undertaken in order to halt the plunging of the Polish People's Republic into a national catastrophe, the American President decided to impose "economic sanction" against the Soviet Union. And what is more he threatened he can take more economic and political actions, if the Soviet Union continued to "intervene" in Polish affairs.

At present even the Western European allies of the United States speak of Mr Reagan's conduct as of "a classic example of cold war", this is a conduct, the first and foremost aim of which is to aggravate the international situation. The situation in Poland is used as a motive alone. It is a well-known fact that the world public, including millions of citizens of the United States, respond with a growing discontent, with mass demonstrations and other forms of protest to the Washington desire to achieve a military superiority, to impose, as they did in the past, their own will "in all latitudes". To carry out their illusory but very dangerous policy, the White House is in an urgent need of an alibi. Now President Reagan is enriching the trite "Soviet menace" myth with a certain "interference" of the Soviet Union in developments in Poland.

The absence of realism and sober-mindedness are undoubtedly among the greatest defects of the leader of any state. Things, however, grow worse when such defects of conduct are demonstrated by the leader of the most powerful Western country. For it is beyond any doubt that the "measures" of President Reagan are bound to further worsen the already unsatisfactory Soviet-American relations. At the same time these relations occupy a key place in international structures and it is on them that the political climate in the world depends to a decisive degree.

President Reagan undertook "measures" against the Soviet Union, having before that announced a similar "action" against the Polish People's Republic. There is no doubt that the American President is not satisfied with the development of events in Poland after December 13, or in other words -- he is discontented with the gradual returning of the situation in that country back to normal, with the drop of political tensions, with the restoration of public order. Evidently he is discontented with still another thing -- that the counter-revolutionary plans seeking the overthrow of socialism in Poland have failed -- plans which were prepared with the active "co-authorship" of special Western agencies and which had to be carried through with their just as active support. The list of "measures" as announced by President Reagan includes an embargo on the equipment deliveries for the gas pipeline along which the Soviet Union is to supply a number of Western European countries with natural gas. In this way Washington expects to succeed where it failed through pressure upon its NATO allies, namely to make them abandon their links of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the sphere of power generation and thus to delete the positive results achieved so far in their economic and political relations with the Soviet Union.

In this way the President of the United States wants to cross out all the results of the policy of detente in Europe attained with the efforts of many states in the East and the West in the name of a peaceful continent of goodneighbourliness and mutually advantageous coopertion. It is also well known that there is an American signature on the Final Act of Helsinki.

Discontent is growing in the United States with the policy of the President who a year ago promised to work for the solving of many of the most acute economic and social problems of the American society.

But will President Reagan be able to divert the attention of the citizens from his abortive internal policy by fanning up an anti-Soviet psychosis, for his internal policy failed not only to allevaite the economic crisis, but further deepened the social problems of the United States through increased arms spendings.

At present the White House demands from its allies to take "measures" against the Soviet Union, similar to those announced by President Reagan. As the UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI) says, the allies answered in silence. The agency writes: "The Danish Foreign Minister Olesen said the United States and the European Common Market countries differed about what was happening in Poland." The UNITED PRESS stressed also: "West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher has publicly expressed opposition to what he sees as "external intervention" in Poland's affairs by the Western powers."

It is well-knwon that this intervention is carried out in differing manners -- from broadcasts of radio stations like "Free Europe" and "the Voice of America" urging the Polish population to oppose the efforts at normalization of the life in the country down to directions given by Western politicians as to how the Government of the Polish People's Republic should run their sovereign socialist state.

It is not accidental that we put the "measures" of President Reagan in inverted commas. This we do because, though these are actions in the spirit of the "cold war," now the Soviet Union owns an economic potencial which is immeasurably bigger compared with those years. This is naive to expect that the economic development of the Soviet Union will depend on the whims of the White House. But it can fully be expected that this unrealistic and dangerous policy will further undermine the position of the United States in the world today.

ZHIVKOV GREETS MOSCOW FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

AU191436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Dec 81 p 1

[Message by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, to the participants in the Fifth All-National Conference of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society in Moscow]

[Text] Dear Soviet brothers and sisters, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Bulgarian people and myself, I convey most cordial greetings to the participants in the Fifth All-National Conference of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society.

The ever closer and comprehensively drawing together of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Soveit Union is embodied in the deeds and dreams of all sons and daughters of our people. The Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is the dearest and most valuable achievement which we have inherited from our great grandfathers and grandfathers, from our mothers and fathers and from Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. Under the leadership of our communist parties, this friendship which has been crystal-pure for centuries is being raised now to new heights and is being filled with even richer meaning. This friendship affects not only the leaders, party and state organs and organizations but also figures of all spheres of the public, ideological and economic life. This is a friendship of millions of people -- a bright example of socialist internationalism in action.

We highly appraise the comprehensive and useful activity of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society and of the thousands of its members and subsections from all over the vast Soviet Union. We are grateful that under the leadership of the CPSU they are working tirelessly to familiarize the Soviet people with the achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and with the everyday life of our people.

Your conference, dear comrades, is being held in an atmosphere of a comprehensive upsurge of the working people in socialist Bulgaria and the USSR for fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and of the 26th CPSU Congress.

It is a fortunate coincidence that your conference is being held on the eve of the 75th birthday of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the great friend of the Bulgarian people and a strategist of the Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, a figure loved and respected by all of us -- the most noteworthy Marxist-Leninist and fighter for peace of our times.

I am convinced that our Bulgarian-Soviet and Soviet-Bulgarian life-giving friendship will more and more develop, strengthen and enrich itself.

I send you most heartfelt wishes for a successful and fruitful work of the Fifth All-National Conference of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society.

[Signed] Yours Todor Zhivkov

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ISSUES ECONOMIC DECISION

AU300945 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0430 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The decision of the Council of Ministers, which was adopted in connection with perfecting the economic mechanism in economic management during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, was published today. This decision will become valid as of 1 January 1982.

The decision adopted creates the prerequisites and conditions for implementing the economic approach in all spheres and stages of production processes, as well as in the activities of material production and at all levels of social administration, beginning with the brigades and up to the ministries and the Council of Ministers. Particular attention is devoted to the necessity for a comprehensive and creative application of the economic mechanism by all economic and other socialist organizations, by ministries, departments and people's councils' executive committees.

ENVOY TO GREECE HANDS PAPANDREOU ZHIVKOV MESSAGE

AU281930 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Andreas Papandreou, Greece's premier, has received Nikolay Todorov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Greece. At the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the Bulgarian ambassador handed Andreas Papandreou a message from Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman.

The Greek premier expressed confidence that the multifaceted relations between Greece and Bulgaria will continue to develop in all areas on an ascending scale, in the interest of peace, goodnieghborliness and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

STATE COUNCIL DECREES DIPLOMATIC CHANGES

AU181520 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 17 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] The State Council has issued a decree relieving Petur Danailov Khristov of his post as Bulgarian ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania. Todor Ztoychev Todorov has been appointed Bulgarian ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Petur Georgiev Vutov is relieved of his post as Bulgaria's permament representative at the UN international organizations in Geneva.

Konstantin Khristov Tellalov, Bulgarian ambassador to Venezuela, has been appointed Bulgaria's permament representative at the UN international organizations in Geneva.

U.S. ANTI-SOVIET SANCTIONS FURTHER DENOUNCED

Poland Merely Pretext

LD302052 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Editor Antonin Kostka commentary]

[Text] Discrimination, pressure and blackmail are nothing new in the political practice of the imperialist states. What is however curiously, puzzlingly and awkwardly novel is the reasoning behind the discriminatory anti-Soviet measures instituted by President Reagan and his crisis staff. It is founded on an allegedly total conviction regarding Soviet interference in Polish affairs and on some kind of necessity to compel the Soviet Union to eschew support for the measures taken by the Polish leadership. Apart from its total conviction Washington has, however, no proof to substantiate what it terms as alleged interference. It may thus be assumed that what is involved is an invention similar to Reagan's recent claim about what the Soviet leaders tell each other in private.

This is a truly peculiar manner of advancing arguments. Nevertheless, the second part of this curious reasoning which contains a demand which, in the given circumstances, is in effect a pressurizing ultimatum to make the Soviet Union change its conduct toward Poland, is more curious. This would appear to mean that the Soviet Union should halt food and other types of economic aid to its ally and should condemn the effort by the Polish leadership to prevent a counterrevolutionary coup and establish calm and order to facilitate further socialist construction in the country.

Reagan has, however, gone even further. In the explanatory statement he concluded that the new measures are deemed to compel the Soviet Union to use its influence to bring about the termination of the state of emergency and the continuation of reforms. Is the Soviet Union, in Reagan's notions, to take an action against the Polish leadership and impose on it American prescriptions for solving Poland's problems?

It is truly comical although painful that the very man who had been so vehemently warning the Soviet Union not to interfere in Poland should have put into motion a complicated system of pressure for the sole reason of compelling the Soviet Union to such action, but of course for the benefit of Washington's counterrevolutionary proteges in Poland. If, in such circumstances, we are not to doubt the sanity of Ronald Reagan and his advisers, then we have no option other than to admit that they themselves do not believe in the effectiveness of their measures and that therefore their real motivation is different from what it appears to be.

The fact is that most of the current discriminatory measures are of an earlier date. Many of them were discussed some time ago by the American Senate, which passed on more than one occasion the relevant laws and decrees. The difference, of course, is that at that time what was involved were preventive measures which were to be put into motion in case Soviet troops entered Poland, as the Americans accusingly maintained. Although this eventuality has not occurred, the measures have nevertheless been implemented.

Apparently there was no need for a reason, for what was involved was a design prepared in advance. And the reason was sought afterward, and when it was not found it was merely invented. The calculation although simplistic is nonetheless cunning. Those people who have been repeatedly told for such a long time that if the Soviet Union intervened in Poland harsh measures would be taken can be convinced comparatively easily, given the fact that the consumers of Western propaganda are not too critical and that since such measures have been taken then apparently there must have been some kind of intervention by the Soviet Union. Moreover, in line with the principles of a thief calling "stop, thief," there is a greater likelihood that fewer people will now note that it was the United States itself by its interference which brought Poland into such a critical state which had to be resolved only by proclaiming a state of emergency.

But even this does not complete the list of real reasons for Reagan's measures. The fact is that these measures signal a sharp return to cold war practices, which the United States has long been striving to put into practice. They are an effective means to aggravate further the international situation; they constitute an attack on the process of international relaxation and are calculated to weaken international confidence and cooperation. They are also an additional justification for the recently approved increased U.S. military budget and a possible alibi for the destructive actions Washington is making against the disarmament talks in Vienna and mainly in Geneva.

Such is the logic of the apparent illogicality of the discriminatory American sanctions against the Soviet Union. It is astounding with what kind of matter of course recklessness and irresponsibility Washington resorts today to any means which can aggravate international tension, conduct which is both shortsighted, primitive and thus all the more dangerous, which in any case has marked U.S. policy throughout the past year. Thus the need is all the greater not only to reject resolutely such a policy but also to oppose it more effectively.

Only Americans Will Suffer

LD310026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Correspondent Michal Stasz New York dispatch]

[Text] Since the day the current American President came into office the principal credo of his foreign policy has been the raising of international tension through the constant aggravation of U.S.-Soviet relations. He continued in the self-same spirit in his written statement issued yesterday in which he announced a set of measures aimed at putting pressure to bear on the Soviet Union to bring it to its knees economically. This primarily involves the suspension of export licenses for oil and gas extraction equipment, including supplies of pipelaying machinery. Talks on maritime agreements and Aeroflot flights to the United States are also suspended. The grain trade is unaffected, apparently because for the United States it is a very advantageous source for reducing the country's foreign trade deficit.

Apart from economic pressure, Reagan is pursuing other objectives. First, he would like very much to wreck the implementation of the Soviet-West German agreement on the construction of a pipeline and natural gas supplies. As for other measures, one can distinctly observe the protectionism of the American President. This is the point of the restricted access to American ports for Soviet ships when grain deliveries are reportedly to continue uninterrupted. The halting of Aeroflot flights to the United States, on the other hand, is meant to assist American airlines.

The other restrictions are not even of symbolic significance because the Soviet Union has already reoriented its imports of technology to other states; of the approximately $2.5 billion, a mere 3.5 percent is accounted for by the United States. The evening newscasts were already saying that USSR's main trading partners among the Western states are eagerly awaiting the opportunity to win new Soviet orders. Thus, the only people to suffer will be the Americans themselves. In addition, they will have to swallow this piece of political demagogy from their president, not to mention the fact that it was he who has just signed a bill on a record military budget in U.S. history, amounting to $200 billion.

Objective of Measures Viewed

LD310034 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2045 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Jiri Jambor commentary]

[Text] As all political observers came to a rare consensus immediately after President Reagan's speech yesterday, the economic measures proclaimed by him against the Soviet Union cannot in reality seriously threaten or damage the Soviet Union.

This is the more so because President Reagan himself admitted that the United States cannot for the time being count on other Western countries to follow the United States' example, which in any case is convincingly shown by today's negative reactions from French and West German government circles.

What is therefore the true objective which these measures pursue? The top U.S. politicians, who are moreover under the pressure of the moods which they themselves have helped to instigate, are apparently aiming, under the pretext of the current situation in Poland, to further poison -- as the TASS agency has stressed -- the international climate and to raise further obstacles on the path of resolving the truly central problems of the current international development, that is, the questions of strengthening international security and disarmament.

These measures are also a manifestation of panicky wrath of the White House because its calculations in which they firmly believed -- as far as the way of resolving the Polish crisis was concerned -- did not materialize, and for that reason that they were not given the long-term planned and prepared opportunity to launch a massive attack against the policy of relaxation, which was to have definitively swept the opposition, in particular in West Europe, to the dangerous U.S. policy of confrontation.

Furthermore, these measures are also a typically neurotic U.S. contribution to its own proclaimed policy of so-called restraint, which stands in manifest antithesis to the real restraint of the Soviet Union, as far as the innumerable number of anti-Soviet provocations in the development in Poland before 13 December this year is concerned. These measures are also telling confirmation that the so-called peace tone in President Reagan's speech prior to the opening of the Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks in Geneva was pure camouflage which was to have concealed the permanently aggressive factors in the U.S. policy.

Finally, these measures, taking the very example of Poland, provide further evidence to the more soberly thinking Western officials of the fact that what is usually passed off by the United States as the cause of the current international tension, including Afghanistan, is in reality a mere pretext to promote and carry through the long-term aggressive U.S. policy endangering world peace and security. Moreover, these Western politicians know well -- and this not out of political but economic reasons -- that the United States in reality cannot alter the situation as it has been created in Europe on the basis of the Yalta agreements and this is why they are logically reluctant to support this adventurous U.S. policy, which, moreover, is totally without perspectives.

Reagan Message Criticized

AU301146 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 December carries on page 5 a 1,000-word article by Milan Rusko, entitled "American Hegemonism, Reagan Version; Washington's Gross Meddling in Poland's Internal Affairs." After noting that the Christmas holidays have brought "further steps on the path of normalization" in Poland, contrary to the "imperialist plans," Rusko states: "In order to make it even more obvious than it has been to date that the Polish counterrevolution also enjoys support from abroad, U.S. President Ronald Reagan attacked in an unprecedented manner the sovereign Polish Government with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at the head. Contrary to reality, he cynically lied to millions of Americans in declaring that in Poland the government is conducting a fight against its own people."

Rusko then notes that so far the West has been clamoring for an "end to manifestations of anarchy" in Poland, while all the while striving -- with the United States at the head -- to make "the crisis in which Poland has found itself culminate, be it even in a civil war." He then adds that Washington has been financing the Polish counterrevolution and states: "With the two-faced manner of a professional, Reagan has made an ultimatum-like speech, in which he strove to dictate to Poland how it should carry out its domestic and foreign policy."

After noting the individual measures announced by the President, Rusko continues: "Neither in Poland, nor beyond its borders has the Western propaganda thesis taken root, namely that the USSR is contributing its share to the Polish events. But even despite this, with a great American superiority Reagan elevated himself in his speech into the function of a kind of international self-appointed judge and even grossly attacked the Soviet Union, threatening it with sanctions, mostly of an economic and diplomatic nature.

"The American President's speech shows that the White House is ignoring the Polish reality and that it continues to strive, in various ways, to demonstrate American hegemonism. There is no lack of numerous advisers in the White House; but obviously it lacks the ability to assess correctly the object on which it wants to test its hegemonist whims. Even though Poland is in a complicated situation today, Washington is hoping in vain to push this socialist country to its knees. Likewise, it is a fateful error to expect the limitation of contacts with the USSR to reverse the world development." After recalling the the failure of Carter's grain sales embargo, statements by Haig and Weinberger and the Eagleburger trip to Europe, talks between Helmut Schmidt and Reagan, and Trudeau's recent television statement, Rusko concludes: "It is usual in everyday American practices for Washington to strive to suppress any manifestation of common sense. It is not to be excluded that, in certain instances, it may be successful in this. But this cannot change the further direction of the path which the Polish people have decided to take. The Polish working people have reliable friends in the countries of the socialist community on their side. They have the sympathy and support of progressive forces throughout the world.

"Reagan's 'Christmas solo' was intended to become the sign for an explosion of counterrevolutionary actions during the peaceful moments of Christmas in Poland. But this voice has petered out and, regardless of the hegemonist ambitions of the American actor, it can be stated: As up to now, every such future act will be energetically condemned by the peace-loving progressive democratic public in the world."

U.S. DECLARES ECONOMIC 'WAR' ON POLAND

AU291424 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 81 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary in the column "We Comment": "Pressure Will Not Succeed"]

[Text] The sanctions declared this week by U.S. President Reagan against the Polish People's Republic cannot be called other than a declaration of an economic and trade war against a sovereign state, an arrogant meddling in its internal affairs which contravenes the UN Charter. Moreover, this angry step is accompanied by the threat that it will be extended also to the Polish allies, and the Soviet Union in the first place.

At the same time, the U.S. Government is exerting gross pressure on the NATO pact countries to make them, too, adopt economic sanctions against the Polish People's Republic. Such behaviour is inadmissible and unacceptable in international relations between sovereign states. The American attitude reflects the conviction held by the ruling U.S. circles that they can still dictate to the world their exploitative methods and their social system.

By various means, the United States was supporting the antisocialist forces in Poland long before 1980. And from the very moment of "Solidarity's" emergence, it staked all on the organization's disruptive, counterrvolutionary activity. It is no coincidence that the Munich broadcasting station -- so-called Radio Free Europe -- had expanded its programs to Poland to 24 hours a day exactly since August 1980; it is no coincidence that American dollars had begun flowing to Poland in support of "Solidarity's" activities; and it is no coincidence that this March, President Reagan had already made American economic assistance to Poland dependent on the Polish authorities' refraining from conducting a resolute battle against the antisocialist forces.

All this was merely a continuation of the practices of the past few years, when large American banks exerted pressure on the Polish Government and strove to foist political conditions on it in exchange for granting loans.

When the Polish Government resolutely arose against the counterrevolutionary danger and, in keeping with the Constitution, undertook appropriate steps, this provoked a real hysteria among the imperialist circles, which were promising themselves that the "Polish experiment" would bring them -- as the newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote -- a "geopolitical victory." Even the bourgeois communications media joined in this hysteria; especially the American ones, which are falsely and slanderously reporting developments in Poland and adding their share to this large imperialist anti-Polish campaign.

The more realistic bourgeois politicians are aware of the danger brought by the risky, arrogant American policy, and they reject Washington's pressure to declare sanctions against the Polish People's Republic. "We do not stand at attention whenever Reagan speaks," the Canadian prime minister's spokesman stated, for instance. But of course it is impossible to harbor any illusions. Undoubtedly the United States will do everything to force the allies to follow its example. How far it succeeds will depend greatly on the further development of the situation in Europe, on whether the policy of detente and of economic and political cooperation, which yields fruit for all European countries, will be continued.

Nevertheless the American interference in Polish affairs is doomed to failure in any case. Poland is no "banana republic," which the United States can push to its knees according to its will. Poland has sufficient internal forces, and also loyal allies -- including the CSSR, on whom it can rely in order to overcome the present, very difficult period and to continue taking the socialist path. In the same way that the United States did not succeed in pushing free Cuba to its knees, it will also not succeed in humiliating People's Poland. In spite of the anger of American and world reaction, Poland was, is and will be a socialist state, a firm component of the socialist countries.

CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND REPORTED, ANALYZED

'Normalization Struggle'

AU291435 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Dec 81 p 7

[Warsaw dispatch by Jan Lipavsky and Pavol Minarik, CTK: "Struggle for Normalization Continues; Extraordinary Shifts on Holidays in the Polish People's Republic"]

[Excerpts] From various areas in Poland we are getting reports on the growing activity of basic PZPR organizations. Party members are striving to establish in the society an atmosphere of understanding for the difficult conditions of the state of emergency; they are initiators in raising production; in mixed patrols, together with the soldiers and public security members, they see to peace and order in the cities; and, in view of the temporary suspension of trade union activities, they are also taking care of the working people's social problems. Wherever this is necessary, the party members' activity is being evaluated. As reported by PAP, good results in this respect are being achieved, for instance, by the party organization in the V.I. Lenin steel works in Krakow, which has contributed toward enhancing labor productivity in all operations and toward improving the moods among the workers' collectives.

A similar situation exists in certain other Warsaw plants, including the truck production plant in Lublin, where the basic party organizations are simultaneously evaluating the PZPR members' activity. In this, the party is cleansing itself of those who had betrayed it in the last few critical months, as well as of those who had disappointed the trust put in them even earlier, among other things also by abusing their functions for personal profit.

On Sunday the PAP agency announced that, for instance, in Koszalin, Wladyslaw Kozdra, formerly first secretary of the PZPR's voivodship committee; Janusz Wojnowski, formerly secretary of this committee; and also Jan Urbanowicz, formerly voivoda, were excluded from the party.

Peculiar Message

Our correspondents write that there was peace and quiet on Warsaw's streets during the Christmas holidays. Although we have seen leaflets appealing for an interruption of bus and streetcar transportation, nobody took these "Solidarity" appeals seriously. However, this shows that "Solidarity" is not giving up.

On Christmas Eve we visited a group of patrolling soldiers. We were not alone. We were forestalled by a priest. The same happened with other patrolling groups. The church has accelerated its agitation. Primate Glemp's letter was read in church. On the one hand, the primate appealed for calm, and on the other, he voiced the episcopate's solidarity with the interned "Solidarity" bosses.

From the pulpits we heard appeals for the believers to make presents to the "Solidarity" bosses of things which should make their stay in isolation more pleasant. The collection of these things was to take place at the headquarters of the convent on Miodowa Street. Some of the clergy, for instance in the Na Solci Church, made no secret of the fact that they disagree with Primate Glemp's letter addressed to believers.

But the Christmas holidays also had another face. Almost one-third of all food plants were working. Dozens of other industrial enterprises also worked extraordinary shifts. The happy Christmas mood was dimmed by the knowledge that a small handful of "Solidarity" stormtroopers was holding by force more than 1,000 miners underground in the Piast mine. Some people asked us why the Polish Episcopate did not prove its influence on the people there who are thus risking human lives. The miners who had escaped from the Ziemowit mine pointed out on television that the situation in Piast mine is threatening to result in a cave-in.

In the country's eastern region, in the Medika reloading station, a good mood was prevalent. The nonstop unloading of railroad cars filled with food and raw materials from the Soviet Union was underway. Everywhere this provided an opportunity for expressions of friendship and of the sense of togetherness.

Events in Knurow Described

AU291523 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Dec 81 p 7

[Dispatch by special correspondent "(UL)": "Impudent Ultimatum; Testimony on the Provocation in Knurow"]

[Text] The brightly lit Christams tree of peace on the square in Knurow, a laughing group of children with caps down to their brows, the parents' proud glances at their offspring, successfully overcoming on their skis the tricky slopes of the "donkey meadow," good humor and happiness -- this is a brief obliviousness to the worries of everyday life at present in Poland.

And it was during these very days, during the holidays of calm and peace, that their city was to have become -- according to "Solidarity's" aims, fanned by the counterrevolutionaries from the Confederation for an Independent Poland -- a harsh battlefield, one of the battlefields in the struggle for seizing political power.

Everything began at the beginning of October. A strike was again provoked in one of the local enterprises, in the Szyglowice mine.

The alleged reason was that Jan Matinka, chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, had "dared" to agree with the government proposal to work in the mine shafts also on Saturdays. "We are not interested in the lack of coal here," the bosses of the enterprise "Solidarity" yelled. The principle of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] members -- "the worse, the better" -- had already taken root in many plants in the Knurow area; particularly so since Lech Walesa's emissaries were arriving there daily -- Anna Walentynowicz, a close collaborator of Jacek Kuron, or Jan Rulewski from Bydgoszcz who, contrary to Adam Michnik, did not want to point a gun at the government's head, but a machine gun at its heart.

"We have a chance to prove that we will rule...we must not permit the reds to maneuver us out of the government...away with the party organizations, put them out of the plants...." On the site of the PZPR's enterprise committee we hear: "Anna Walentynowicz's storming in the assembly hall of the mines at first did not alarm anybody." They had encountered such attacks time and again. "We had underrated the danger," the first secretary of the party organization's committee confessed. It did not pay to do this.

The first letter arrived, signed by Sylwestr Jaskolski, Alfred Cofalik and others; until then, almost unknown people. "We announce that an organization of the Confederation for an Independent Poland has been founded in the enterprise. Our headquarters is temporarily on the premises of 'Solidarity's' enterprise committee. At the same time we demand that the PZPR's enterprise committee and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions move out of the plant. We give you 14 days for this!"

That day the session of the PZPR's enterprise committee lasted unexpectedly longer than usual. Krysztof Kandziora, the committee's first secretary, searched for words with difficulty. Even during the October strike he strove to find a common language with "Solidarity." He really believed that here in the mine the Confederation for an Independent Poland had no chance, as he was assured by "Solidarity" boss Tadeusz Arent.

"I can see no difference between 'Solidarity,' the Confederation for an Indpendent Poland and KOR," a worker of the Knurow city party committee let himself be heard. Only a short while ago, a ballot would take place in the PZPR's enterprise committee every time to determine whether he could attend the session. This also applied to the first secretary of the city committee. This was democracy, they said. Most committee members voted in favor of a resolution condemning the impudent ultimatum.

Even those who had a "solidarity" membership card in their pocket voted for the resolution. "We will succeed in defending our party," the resolution concluded.

The second letter, which arrived in 12 December, was no announcement. It swarmed with orders and exclamation marks. "After Christmas we do not want to see you at the mine shaft." It threatened the party's enterprise committee and the plant organization of the Branch Trade Unions. "If you yourselves do not find another place, we will evict you. Not a trace will remain of you here!"

Side by side with the signatures of members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland there already figured the stamp and signature of the enterprise "Solidarity." The Gdansk session immediately preceding this had already made it possible to lower the masks, because, actually, they were to set out "for battle" in a few days' time. Allegedly, the "enterprise self-administration" had also spoken in favor of evicting the party organization from the enterprise. The addressees -- the party and trade union committee -- naturally did not know much about it. The "self-administration" had been elected "democratically," without the knowledge of party members and Branch Trade Union members.

We walk through the mine shaft's administrative building, and we read inscriptions on the information board; today, during the Christmas holidays, it was no longer to have carried information that the PZPR's enterprise committee resides on the first floor.

From the materials secured on the "Solidarity" premises -- where, it was stressed, the fellow believers of Leszek Moczulski from the Confederation for an Independent Poland were residing only temporarily -- it followed that it was they who were to have occupied the former premises of the party organization. And not only that, they were also to have become the "guarantors" of the political development and of the situation in the enterprise -- the very people who, according to Moczulski's example, had and have the aim of preparing the explosion which would sweep away the party and socialism in Poland.

Party Members' Tasks

LD310032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Frantisek Sojka Warsaw dispatch]

[Text] Polish dailies, radio and television carry more news about sentences passed on some extremists from Solidarity, who had attempted even after the proclamation of the state of emergency to provoke unrest and strikes. At the same time, they also carry statements by some local leaders who talk about the need for calm and order and acknowledge the current state of emergency. However, the describe such statements as unequivocal proof that these leaders have finally opened their eyes and understood the urgency of the situation would be, at least in my view, a simplification. This is because they had more than enough opportunities and reasons even in the preceding months to take a resolute and clear-cut stand. For this reason, those courageous people, who even earlier had already found courage -- and there were not few of them -- to stand up against the Solidarity terror, and who had often remained isolated, exposed to moral and physical violence, including a threat of dismissal from work, deserve greater recognition.

It would be decidedly premature to say that the organizers of counterrevolution and their Western protectors have definitively given up. Rather, they have retreated temporarily into the background, and there can be no doubt that they will use every opportunity to prevent normalization and to harm socialism in a different form and different manner. It is however self-evident that it will be not only the responsible work and attitude of millions of Poles but also the resoluteness and thoroughness of the state and administrative bodies and primarily the galvanization of the PZPR and the restoration of its close links with the working class, which will determine how quickly the normalization and elimination of the existing shortcomings will proceed.

I have recently been talking to many party officials in factories and the municipal district party committees. They have drawn attention to problems connected with the introduction of the normal rate of work and working discipline, to the need for purging the mass media and propaganda machinery in general from the exponents of antisocialist and rightwing views, to the enormous difficulties connected with improving supplies of foodstuffs and durable consumer goods. They have been telling me how many party members, on their initiative and by themselves, have recently risen to defend socialism in their own country, and how many party members in factories have by their own example carried other workers with them. But they have also not concealed the need to differentiate among party members and the need to part company with those who bear their own personal share in weakening the party's influence and with those who have caused irreparable political and economic damage.

LEADERS HOLD TALKS WITH SOVIET ENVOY BOTVIN

Husak Discusses Cooperation

LD301320 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, today received Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

During the course of a cordial and friendly conversation, questions of cooperation between our fraternal parties and countries were discussed.

Indra Receives Botvin

LD292342 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Alois Indra, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, today received Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They held a cordial and friendly discussion on future cooperation between the supreme representatives and legislative bodies of the two fraternal countries.

HUSAK TOAST AT BREZHNEV BIRTHDAY CEREMONY CITED

LD192210 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Excerpts] The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers gave a reception this evening in the Kremlin on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the republic, also proposed a toast.

In his speech, Comrade Husak said: Dear Comrade Brezhnev, allow me, on the occasion of your important birthday, to convey a message of sincere love, gratitude, friendship and respect from Czechoslovak communists, from all Czechoslovak people, and from the depth of my heart to congratulate you on the high Soviet distinction awarded to you today for your exceptional contributions to the struggle for the victory of the ideas of socialism, progress and peace.

We respect you, Dear Leonid Ilich, as a man, a statesman and politician, an organizer and an ardent fighter for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for socialism and peace, for the unity and prosperity of the socialist community, for the deepening of cooperation of the international communist and workers' movements.

Comrade Gustav Husak went on: You will remain for ever in the hearts and minds of working people of our country for all that you have done for freedom, independence and for the socialist development of Czechoslovakia, for the happy peaceful life of our people. Your entire life is a firm and inseparable part of the glorious victorious path of the Soviet people. Not by chance, your memoirs, so close to the thinking and feeling of millions of people in the whole world, have become for them a living history of courage and self-denial, devoted struggles and victories of the fraternal people of the great Soviet country. Under the direct leadership of the CPSU Central Committee headed by you, dear Leonid Ilich, the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution are being implemented today in the Soviet Union in conditions of an advanced socialist society and the building of a material-technological base of communism. The bequest of Vladimir Ilich Lenin is in good hands, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed, and continued:

You have rightly recalled recently that in the present international struggle it is not only what the eighties are going to be like but also how mankind will enter the third millenium that is being decided. This historical struggle for a peaceful future of the human race is linked firmly with your name. Also linked with it is the idea that nothing is more important than peace which has at present become a fighting slogan of hundreds of millions.

Allow me to drink to the loyal brotherhood and the further all-round development of Czechoslovak and Soviet cooperation, to your health, Leonid Ilich, to long years of life, to new successes in your devoted work for the prosperity of the Soviet Union, for a happy future of mankind, for progress and peace.

We have acquainted you with the speech of Comrade Gustav Husak at a reception in the Kremlin today on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

SLOVAK PRAVDA URGES WIDER USE OF SOVIET METHODS

AU231436 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Practical Internationalism"]

[Summary] In the category of nonmaterial resources we do not have to rely on our own strength alone. "We are substantially richer here: We have at our disposal the scientific knowledge and production experience of such a powerful socialist country, such a great power of science and all-round economy as the Soviet Union." Deplorably, the use we make of these assets in practice is "forcing us to talk critically about this matter without concealing our dissatisfaction.

"True, there is no lack of words about the need to adopt the Soviet experience." But mostly these words are not followed by practical steps. "Perhaps nowhere else is there so much opportunism in practice or soulless formalism as there is in the implementation of Soviet experience.

"Let us take khozraschet [economic accountability]." Here, too, we only talk about it. "Consistent khozraschet does not exist in our country even at the most basic level of centers, to say nothing of enterprise or supra-enterprise levels.

"Or let us look at the organization of work and remuneration through brigades, for which khozraschet should establish conditions." In the USSR it already took firm root 5 years ago; "in our country we know only of partial or 'embryonic' -- or, more precisely, far too timid -- attempts to make use of it."

Then again, in applying scientific knowledge in practice we have the brilliant example of the "comprehensive system of direct links between science and the needs of practice" used in Kiev; although Bratislava is Kiev's friendship partner, the system is not being used here.

"Half-measures, a lack of staying power, the premature death of enthusiasm -- all this is typical of our approach to Soviet methods."

"Above all, the serious, businesslike study of Soviet experience is lacking. The trips to the Soviet Union are not being properly utilized" and the people sent there do not bring back with them any comprehensive documentary material; if they submit a report on their return, nobody reads it. The several hundred employees of four economic production units sent to the USSR every year mostly behave like tourists collecting souvenirs. "It is necessary to send to the Soviet Union people with a better concept of their mission; and, if possible, not only the directors. The study of Soviet experience would mainly benefit the production organizers, the economists and workers from the pre-production phases," because "those who ought to get to know the world's technical advances well ahead of time, since they are responsible for the parameters of our future products, usually have no chance of going to the Soviet Union. Is that right?"

Practical internationalism as expressed in partnership relations between our regions and Soviet regions, districts, plants, schools and institutions should yield a high interest in the elements of the "unity of economy, policy and ideology of our countries. The exchange of knowledge, experience and specific solutions of similar problems is simultaneously and elementary, lowest and simplest level in bringing the fraternal countries' structures closer together. This form became a program actually 30 years ago, and it was to have been mastered and implemented in the meantime.

But it was not; it is not even now; not to a satisfactory extent, although we are now confronted by the urgent need of going over to a higher level: to cooperation, specialization and integration."

Although we have frequent instances of local initiative, we "are lacking support from above for local initiative. A multitude of regulations and of bureaucratically applied decrees and regulations that have already become obsolete are frequently an almost insurmountable barrier on the path of progressive methods for our work places. This, for instance, is best known to people seriously interested in the brigade form of organizing work and remuneration. The communists in the central institutions should reflect on this in particular, seriously and creatively.

"At the same time we often hear the work places with facilities for implementing the Soviet experience offering the following excuse: 'Our conditions are different. It cannot be done...' but in reality they are averse to applying their brains and to adjusting a few local details to what has today become substantial and decisive -- the turn toward the intensive path of development which, as we know, differs from the extensive path particularly the implementation of the knowledge of science and of the best experience."

It is as Lenin said: Enough of generalizations and theories. We must now concentrate on noting and checking the practical experience.

'VACLAV DOLEZAL' ON EMIGRES' TAPED CONVERSATIONS

Emigre a 'Human Wreck'

AU211446 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "Almost Like a Feuilleton; Yet Another 'Voice From the Other Side'"]

[Text] He is feeling as though he were being smothered. With jerky movements he paces the room, sits down, then jumps up again. Everything to him seems to be dirty in this emigre apartment. What a lot of things he has already seen here, has heard and experienced -- trippings-up, intrigues, lies, scheming, brawls for money, cat-and-mouse disputes to gain influence and position, empty barren words about "democracy and freedom"...and all the time everything starts and ends with the lousy dough. That scoundrel Tigrid is right, and he is talking about it all the time, with cynical laughter and an insatiable envy -- sure, he has been moving in this swamp his whole life. He knows what's what! "Pelikan? They are all pelicans. They are stuffing their goiters, stealing, keeping a sharp watch for anything that can be snatched."

He is at the end of his rope. With trembling fingers he dials the number of the international exchange. He will telephone the place which used to be home, which he had betrayed so many times. He who has today become a professional enemy of the fatherland, of its people, is calling Czechoslovakia under a false name.

"When will I see you, old girl? Will you be coming?" He searchingly asks, and hears with gratification that his girlfriend is about to set out to France via the FRG; she already has the visas, everything is in order; he will join her train once in Frankfurt.

The feminine voice on the other end suddenly gets serious, says hesitantly: "Yesterday they spoke of you on Prague radio, on the Hvezda channel -- they called the program 'Voices From the Other Side.'"

His attention is aroused: "Well, what did they actually say?"

"They talked about everybody, starting with Tigrid, Kavan, you, Precan, and ending with Pelikan..."

"And they connected me with these swine? They did?"

The woman cautiously searches for words: "You were -- those men that you are working with there, they talked about you on the phone. And now they have played a tape on the radio. Everybody heard it, their true voices and all that. It was rather clear. People are talking a lot about it now, how you were transporting smuggled goods to Czechoslovakia -- you know, those materials and so forth..."

Suddenly he is afraid. Anxiety tightens his throat. The accumulated bitterness and hopelessness of disappointment come to a boil in him. His nerves break down. He does not hear the shriek of his own voice. He explodes: "Just let me make it clear to you. I hate far less... -- They can broadcast this again over there. Let them tape it. You tape it. Go on!" He shouts into the phone: "I declare again: I hate the Czech cops far less than these swine over here...these swine whom I have all around me. They have sold Czechoslovakia's independence!"

His breath comes with difficulty. Again he is at a loss. He begs his girl friend not to come. Perhaps it would be better thus. He is afraid his "mates" [kamaradi] will hate her, will harm her. She should "keep away" from him, he says. "Don't come. You will land in disaster... To move here freely, between the millstones, that is impossible... I do not want to drag you down with me, no way." In the end he sighs: "The best thing I could now do would be to kill myself..."

The woman comforts, promises to be cautious, not to give any cause for anything to her friend's fellow mates. She wants to make sure: "So we will see each other as planned, all right?"

He tiredly promises. His head is on fire. Thoughts are storming. He remembers that he needs medical drugs from Czechoslovakia. He has seizures. Here abroad they are expensive. He is in debt, has no money.

"Can you tell me something more about that radio program?" His mind is burning, corroded by unrest. He wants to know everything, and at once.

Gloomily he hears that the "Voices From the Other Side" were authentic. They consisted only of facts, of what his accomplices had said; he calls them "brutes" and "asses" and he flares up again when his girl friend condemns the Prague radio program for using "monitoring devices" [odposlech].

"Why should they be ashamed? Your place, at least they made no secret of it. Who should be ashamed are these emigre brutes here!"

The girl friend tries to calm him down. She agrees, she feels that her partner on the phone is internally disintegrated, that he is split. Their talk -- she fears -- is taking a direction it should not take. All in vain.

He demands details. He gets to hear them -- "They spoke about you, Tigrid and Pelikan, or Tigrid and Precan, I cannot remember exactly." He asks her to describe how the French Trotskyites were apprehended on the Czechoslovak border, how the "smuggled goods" were discovered; he is particularly interested in what the radio said about the secret courier with the code name "postman," who was watching the subversive operation from a distance. The girl friend is gradually losing her patience. When he demands that she repeat sentences, quoting exactly from the radio program, these words slip out: "For lord's sake, you are the organizer, well then -- you should know this best."

She cannot stop him. "And they put me together with Kavan?" He rushes one question after another.

"Well, you all are serving the CIA. Naturally, you all, that is also Tigrid and Precan, are concerned with getting money."

Again the strings of his self-control begin to snap. "I confirm this, comrades, I confirm this to you, anytime you want it, I will repeat it for you!" He is shouting into the telephone.

"For heaven's sake, don't you comment on it, say nothing," the scared girl friend blurts out.

"They have property and dough from the CIA! I cannot help it, if RUDE PRAVO writes this. It is true. They are emigre swine!" The swell of words breaks through the last barriers. He sees in his mind Tigrid's face. For more than 10 years he had been in touch and working with this chief of the emigre underworld, with this spy, this organizer of subversive, undermining anti-Czechoslovak actions; suddenly he is indifferent to all this, he stubbornly confirms: "He is a swine, a CIA agent, sure, it is the truth. I cannot help it that RUDE PRAVO unfortunately is writing about this."

Passionately he describes to his girl friend the reality of life in the West. He warns her not to harbor any illusions; when she crosses the borders to come to him, she herself will see that what RUDE PRAVO writes is no lie.

Defeated, desperate, exhausted, perhaps for the first time in his life he confesses. All the bitter realization pours out. The thin skin is peeled off. The simple truth that he had experienced in his own fate resounds all the more burningly and tellingly: "This society is diseased. Capitalism is simply a misfit in mankind's development. It must be removed. I simply cannot help it. I can attest that this is true. I am, to tell the truth, sorry that RUDE PRAVO is the one to write it -- but it is the truth."

A few more details: Yes, he will come. They will meet according to plan; he is tired, indifferent, without interest. For the third time during the talk he breathes out words of hopelessness, of the acknowledgement of failure in life and politics, the realization of the end: "I tell you, if I had enough resolution, I would kill myself after this talk."

A human wreck, dragging itself through the life of an emigre and malefactor, puts down the phone.

Amnesty International Revealed

AU211420 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "For the Third Time, 'Voices From the Other Side'; How To Smuggle Over China"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE THIRD INSTALLMENT OF "VOICES FROM THE OTHER SIDE," BROADCAST THIS THURSDAY BY HVEZDA RADIO STATION, ALSO TOOK THE LISTENERS BACKSTAGE, AMONG THE AGENTS OF THE AMERICAN ESPIONAGE ORGANIZATION CIA AND AGENTS OF THE EMIGRE CENTERS. THIS TIME THE PROGRAM DOCUMENTED WITH AUTHENTIC STATEMENTS THE METHODS USED FOR "RECRUITING" NOT ONLY CONTACTMEN OPERATING FROM THE WEST TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BUT ALSO VARIOUS PETTY TREACHEROUS SOULS LIVING AMONG US.

This spring a man called Corry was sent by CIA agent Tigrid from Paris to Prague and -- as we could hear -- he "visited Bartosek, he visited Anicka Sabatova," as Mrs Tigrid revealed, in order to hand over secret consignments, code named "ink." The messenger called Corry did not come to Prague for reasons of tourism, as he maintained; he arrived in our country with absolutely precise instructions to meet specific people.

On another occasion the Tigrid agency made use of the organization concealed under the firm name Amnesty International. Its member, Mrs Denis, set out for Prague this August with Tigrid's instructions. She also visited Bratislava and Hradec Kralove. Well before her arrival, conspiratorial meetings had been arranged for her with persons whom Mrs Tigrid mentioned as "Mr Maly," the "lawyer Danisz" and "Milos Reichert."

The Denis woman was charged with the task of talking over with them, and also with other helpers of Tigrid or Pelikan, "MATTERS WHICH COULD DISRUPT THE REGIME SOMEWHAT." Yes, this is exactly how the Tigrid woman told her to proceed: "Matters which could disrupt the regime somewhat." Disrupting our socialist system.

Thus the radio program has again accumulated proof about the Amnesty International organization, showing that in reality this seemingly humanitarian firm name is used to cover actions undertaken to incite illegal, antistate activities in our country.

Czechoslovak radio mentioned yet another cover-up organization which serves the American espionage service as one of its transmission belts -- the so-called Society for Art and Science. The club with this nice-sounding name was founded in the United States in 1961, for "people of Czechoslovak origin with an academic education." This year the chief of the Czechoslovak section of so-called Radio Free Europe, Benes, was striving, together with Tigrid, to slap together a "congress" of this club, so that such "experts" like Brzezinski, Solzhenitsyn, Milosz and others could talk there -- the place best suited for this would be West Berlin, they said -- about the "parallel culture of Central Europe." A figure was even mentioned which should come from overseas for the "congress" -- at least $20,000.

In their effort to penetrate Czechoslovakia, as far as possible without such incidents as the case of the two French "tourists" this spring, the CIA agents recently directed their attention to -- China! A number of emigres have already visited it in person -- Pelikan, Mlynar, Reiman, Sik, Mueller, and Janouch; and some are even working for Chinese radio.

The facts presented by Czechoslovak radio make it obvious that those have not been "friendly visits," but attempts to engage the Chinese diplomatic service in anti-Czechoslovak subversive activity. "WE COULD SMUGGLE THROUGH CHINA," Tigrid declared one day. And he immediately developed the specific ideas of the American plan: "THE EMBASSY (COULD) ACCEPT IT ON THE PRESUMPTION THAT WE FIND A PERSON THERE WHO WOULD PICK IT UP. FAIR ENOUGH; THAT COULD BE ARRANGED. OR IT COULD BE LEFT SOMEWHERE... WE ARE SENDING PARCELS, AND IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHETHER IT IS TO VIENNA OR BEIJING."

Thus it is that now, after all the failures, Tigrid is planning to saddle even the Chinese embassies for the CIA, as we could hear yesterday.

Czechoslovak radio will again carry testimony on these cunning plans on Monday, 21 December, at 1730 hours from Radio Prague; and the very same day at 1850 hours from Radio Bratislava. The "Voices From the Other Side" will continue.

CHNOUPEK RETURNS FROM OFFICIAL VISIT TO FRG

Departure 19 Dec

LD192304 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Bonn, 19 Dec (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek ended his official visit to the FRG and left for home on Saturday. Bohuslav Chnoupek was seen off at Wahn Airport near Cologne by the two countries' ambassadors, Jiri Goetz and Juergen Diesel, leading officials of the West German Foreign Ministry, and officials of the Czechoslovak Embassy in the F.R.G. The West German press summed up the results of the Czechoslovak-West German talks by noting that diplomatic circles in Bonn regard them as proof of positive development in relations between the two states. The Munich paper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, for instance, entitled its coverage "Relations With Czechoslovakia Improved," and the Bonn GENERAL-ANZEIGER stressed the "upward trend of Bonn's relations with Prague."

Televised Remarks

LD202312 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, has returned from an official visit to the FRG. On his return, he gave an interview on Czechoslovak television. He answered a question concerning the results of his talks with FRG representatives.

[Begin Chnoupek recording] I can reply in a single sentence, for I can state that we have fulfilled the task we set ourselves before our trip to the FRG and that the visit has fulfilled its purpose, which we see within the broad framework of the years of dialogue between our two countries, proceeding from the framework of the treaties we signed in 1973 as an act of normalization of bilateral relations between our two states, as well as from the subsequent important declaration signed by our president, Comrade Husak, and by the federal chancellor, Schmidt.

Both sides appreciated the fact that the dialogue between our two countries is continuing without interruption, regardless of temporary vacuums, that our relations have not been marked by any euphoria or ups and downs and that they have, in the long run, a positive trend and that they have brought productive results. We have an effective and good dialogue, especially in the political sphere; we have broad economic cooperation and good cooperation has also appeared in other areas, primarily in the cultural field, and we do not have any major problems arising from the treaties and agreements between both countries in other fields. So, as far as bilateral relations are concerned, I can state that they are viable, advanced and productive with a good long-term outlook.

Chnoupek Interview

AU231402 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 81 p 7

[Interview with CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek by CTK-RUDE PRAVO Bonn correspondents: "The Necessity of a Permanent Dialogue"]

[Text] At the end of the Czechoslovak-West German talks, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, gave an interview to the CTK and RUDE PRAVO Bonn correspondents.

[Question] Comrade Minister, how do you assess the talks with the vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, Hans-Dietrich Genscher?

[Answer] The offical visit in the FRG, which took place at the invitation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, is a part of an over-all political dialogue, which the two neighboring countries regularly conduct.

I can say with satisfaction that it fulfilled its purpose. In open and matter of fact discussions, I and my counterpart exchanged views on the current situation and the further prospects of CSSR-FRG relations. We are in agreement that both our countries are fulfilling the treaty on mutual CSSR-FRG relations of 11 December 1973.

Thanks, in particular, to the results of CSSR President Gustav Husak's talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn in 1978, a new, qualitatively higher stage is occurring in our mutual relations. This undoubtedly positive fact also was affirmed by the atmosphere of the reception by President Karl Carstens and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

A fleeting glance into the sphere of concrete facts is enough. In the political sphere we are conducting a regular, active and effective dialogue. The ministers of foreign affairs are meeting. The well-tried mechanism of consultations at the level of deputy ministers and section heads of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs functions.

Contacts at the government level as well as in several other sectors are expanding. There are positive trends in the economic sphere. Taking the year 1973 as the starting point, the goods exchange since then has increased by a half and today amounts to almost DM4 billion. We are developing new forms of economic cooperation. For example, this year the number of valid cooperation agreements increased from 21 to 26.

Also tourism and the mutual learning to get to know one another's nations are expanding. In the year when the treaty was signed about 300,000 West German tourists visited Czechoslovakia. This year, there have been almost a half a million of them.

With Minister Genscher we unequivocally agreed that there still are things to be improved. There still exist certain ups-and-downs as well as an untapped potential, and we are not utilizing the possibilities offered by the contacts and cooperation in all spheres of relations.

[Question] How do you assess that part of the talks, pertaining to the key questions of the topical development of the international relations?

[Answer] Our two countries signed the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. At the same time we share a 356 km border. This is a border between nations which -- despite all the irreconcilable contradictions of the social and political systems -- have an identical, humanistic objective of living in peace and as good neighbors.

This certainly is a strong argument which the West German side also bears in mind. After all, even though we continue to disagree with Mr Genscher when assessing a number of important international policy issues, such as, for example the well known problem of the American weapons systems, the interference by some Western countries in the internal affairs of Poland, Afghanistan and so on, in spite of that we agreed on the need for a permanent dialogue in the interest of the final elimination of the threat of war and nuclear catastrophe.

Until now, we have been a fair way apart in that respect. For example, our counterparts in the FRG support U.S. President Reagan's proposal for the so-called zero option concerning the solution of the problem of nuclear missiles in Europe. We, on the contrary, support the comprehensive Soviet proposals aimed at ensuring that the Geneva negotiations are held according to the principles of equality and equal security, and at ridding our continent once and for all of the nuclear danger in the form of all medium-range weapons as well as tactical weapons. This would be a just and real "zero option."

We also told our West German colleagues that in the interest of the positive conclusion of the Madrid meeting, we are striving to ensure that not everything is wasted which we have jointly and so laboriously achieved, that the meeting provides new initiatives for the deepening of the process of detente, the strengthening of security and the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation. And, in particular, we hope that it will decide to convene a conference of military detente and disarmament in Europe.

We also stressed that on no account must Europe, our common home, become a theater of a "limited nuclear war" or a training ground for some sort of "demonstrative" or "warning nuclear explosion." It is our sincere wish that the border of our neighboring countries never be misused as a "overflight transit" for Pershings and Tomahawks, but that it is always used for the transit of goods and energy. In this respect the Bonn talks have provided several stimuli.

FRG Newsman's Provocation

AU211429 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Dec 81 p 2

[C. Smolik commentary in column "On the Edge of the Day": "Provocations Did Not Succeed"]

[Text] The welcome of Comrade Chnoupek [CSSR minister of foreign affairs] by FRG Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs GEnscher at the Cologne airport on Thursday was also attended by journalists.

When our minister was about to get into the car, one of them jumped at him extremely rudely from behind -- Udo Fillip, an anticommunist from FRG television. At first it was not clear what he was after. Therefore, as a token gesture, the security guards [poradatele] tried to prevent an unambiguous provocation. But Fillip was already shouting questions and the cameras were whirring away. However, Comrade Chnoupek -- very calmly and very promptly -- explained the Czechoslovak position on the events in Poland and got into the car. Thus the provocation did not succeed. The hecklers from FRG television apparently thought that the CSSR minister of foreign affairs would refuse to answer. He could have done so. A television interview during the official welcome was not on the agenda. Udo Fillip needed a world story (however, U. Fillip did not say a word about the fact that the office of the FRG chancellor had prohibited journalists' access to the H. Schmidt-B. Chnoupek meeting nor did he give the order to film when we were turned away from the office).

During the evening meeting of the two ministers I sat with Mr Boll, one of the ranking members of the FRG Foreign Ministry. He commented on the Czechoslovak position on Poland and said with what satisfaction Minister Genscher had received it.

The Friday Bonn Daily GENERAL-ANZEIGER, which is very close to the FRG Foreign Ministry (and therefore is often depicted as "semiofficial publication"), reports about Reagan's worries connected with the solution of the Polish events. But immediately afterward, in an extensive article by its Washington special correspondent Emil Boelt, it notes that no U.S. minority has suffered as much as the American Indians do under Reagan's administration -- 70 percent of them are unemployed at present while the U.S. unemployment rate stands at 8.4 percent. While Reagan is shedding tears over the counterrevolutionaries in Poland, he deals inhumanely with his own fellow citizens.

Neither Fillip's nor Reagan's provocations succeeded.

KEMPNY OUTLINES CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL AIMS

LD230504 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Representatives of the Czech National Council briefed journalists in Prague today about the activity of that legislative body during the current year and about the plan for the coming year. Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, singled out the importance of the recent third session of the Czech National Council, which had passed the bill on the development of the national economy of the CSR for the period of 1981-85 and the bill on the state budget for next year. At the same time, he talked about the political and organizational safeguarding of the tasks arising from that meeting. He concerned himself in detail with the deputies' active share in realizing the aims of the national economy plan and in putting the Set of Measures into practice. He also recalled the important role our communication media must play in this respect. Comrade Kempny stressed that it is equally necessary to push through with all resolution and aspects of maximal economy, quality and effectiveness and of consistent utilization of the khozraschet [cost accounting] principles of management.

CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL APPOINTS NEW MINISTER

LD180010 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] The Czech National Council Presidium at its session today appointed Ladislav Kopriva a minister of the Czech Government. The newly appointed minister then took the oath as stipulated in the Constitution. Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, was present.

U.S. EMBARGO ATTEMPT AGAINST SOVIETS SCORED

DW301317 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Albert Reiss Commentary]

[Text] Sanctions, embargoes and boycotts are again supposed to become the guidelines of U.S. policy. The Washington of today is obviously not impressed by the fact that such a policy once before proved to be an oversized boomerang for a president about whom hardly anyone is talking nowadays -- namely, Jimmy Carter, or does every U.S. president have the goal of producing his own failure?

Who is to be punished and what will come of this anyway? Socialist countries, they say, very well, there will be some more to be said about that. But some people, especially in Western Europe, view things from a different angle. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU today expresses a feeling which is obviously widespread in West European countires. It writes, and I quote: Sanctions were also considered recently in the case of Libya. It was said that the European allies would have to participate in such sanctions. What would be the result of support for all American punitive wishes, the paper asks? It continues by asking questions which already have answers: The renuniciation of oil from Iran, the renunciation of oil from Libya, the renunciation of gas from the Soviet Union: An energy importer like the Federal Republic of Germany would ultimately be destitute.

The concern of the FRG newspaper is justified and serious. Socialist countries are supposed to be affected. Nobody claims embargoes and sanctions make economic management easier for the socialist countires. They certainly do create problems. However, we are not used to getting anything free of charge. Perhaps this also is the price we pay for victories in the international class struggle.

But what about the partners of the United States? The natural gas pipeline deal between the Federal Republic and the other West European countries and the Soviet Union has always been a thorn in the side of the United States. It failed to prevent this deal. Now not only the FRG but also the other NATO members are again facing a situation where people in Washington would like to tell them what they may and may not do. It is no coincidence that as before the energy sources are at the center of the issue. Everybody recognizes what this is all about. The United States wants to make its partners toe the line by means of the energy sources which it still largely controls. Considering the signficance of energy policy at this time, this means nothing else than U.S. proposal to create for itself the option of consolidating dependencies.

Some parties in Western Europe seem to be swimming out too far economically and politically to suit the taste of the United States.

UPDATE, SUMMARY OF SITUATION IN POLAND

LD300038 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1546 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Summary] Warsaw, 29 Dec (ADN) -- Twelve Solidarity counterrevolutionaries who had detained and terrorized miners in the Piast mine were arrested on Tuesday, Warsaw radio reports. Several Solidarity leaders who organized strikes in the Huta Katowice steelworks have also been charged.

PAP reports that the economic committee of the Council of Ministers discussted a draft order to make work compulsory for the duration of martial law for men aged 18-45.

The Military Council of National Salvation has appealed to farmers to speed up the sale of grain and other produce to the state. Polish media on Tuesday report increased efforts to ensure normal working in industry and transportation. Coal extraction in the Piast mine is to resume on Wednesday.

Pre-Christmas easing of travel restrictions has been extended.

In many enterprise PZPR basic organizations took the lead in forming commissions to look after workers.

PZPR activist meetings were held in major enterprises of the Gdansk coastal region and in Gdynia. PAP reports that Jan Labecki, PZPR Politburo member, attended the party activists meeting in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.

OBSERVANCE OF BREZHNEV BIRTHDAY REPORTED

Honecker, Stoph Greetings

AU221259 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19/20 Dec 81 p 1

[Greetings message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the occasion of his 75th birthday]

[Text] To the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, Moscow

Distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev: On behalf of the SED Central Committee of the State Council, Council of Ministers and the entire GDR people we extend to you the most heartfelt congratulations and fraternal militant greetings.

The communists and all GDR working people hold you in esteem as a consistent Marxist-Leninist who has stood at the head of the CPSU and USSR for many years, as a highly respected functionary of the international workers' movement and outstanding statesman.

Distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich, your entire political life has been marked by dedication and untiring creative activity for the cause of communism, for the well-being of the Soviet people. You have earned important credit in the strengthening of the first socialist state in the world which has ever again proved to be a pioneer of human progress, the most powerful bulwark of peace.

Having been entrusted by the CPSU with responsible functions in decisive sectors of the struggle, you have devoted your entire strength to successfully solving fundamental tasks of the constructive of socialism. You had a decisive share in the industrialization of the Soviet country as well as in the socialist collectivization of its agriculture. In the forties, with the revolutionary vigor which is typical of you, you worked on the reconstruction of vital centers of the national economy and subsequently on the development of the virgin lands. Deeply rooted in the workers class and closely linked with the working people you were active at the head of large party organizations and in the CPSU leadership.

Since you took over the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee 17 years ago, you have led the party and the country unerringly and purposefully on the road to building the communist society. With the decisions of the 26th congress of Lenin's party and with the report which you delivered there a new landmark was erected in this magnificent development which points far into the future of the Soviet country, of the struggle for freedom and progress in the world.

You, distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich, went with the glorious Soviet Army through the fire of the Great Fatherland War, that gigantic struggle in which the Soviet Union, with its world historic victory over the Hitler regime, saved the peoples from the fascist barbarism. You know of nothing higher than to do everything possible for peace, for protecting humanity against the tragedy of a new world war, indeed from nuclear destruction.

Thus you are valued by all those on ou globe to whom peace, as mankind's greatest asset, is close to the heart, as a champion of this noble cause.

Your enterprising and constructive actions for arms limitation and disarmament, for detente and peaceful coexistence, encourage the peoples most deeply, especially today in a situation exacerbated by imperialism. The 26th CPSU Congress peace program, to which you made a decisive contribution, is proving its worth with a vital strength.

Distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich, the SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR are linked forever as co-strugglers and friends. Our party and people shall never forget what heroic achievements and sacrifices the Soviet people have made to ensure that, after the defeat of Hitler fascism, our country was able to make a new start and to build socialism. Countless are the proofs of proletarian internationalism, of the fraternity and solidaristic aid rendered to us by the Soviet Union in this respect.

With the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR signed on 7 October 1975, our fifth affinity and comprehensive collaboration have reached a still higher level. On this day we feel the urge to appreciate your great personal contribution, distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich, to the fruitful development of the relations between our two countries, to the strengthening of our fraternal alliance, and to thank you for this from the bottom of our hearts.

The friendship with the Soviet Union, the solid anchoring of the GDR in the socialist community of states constitutes the secure foundations of our past and future successes. This incontestable fact was again proved at the 10th SED Congress. On this basis we are in a position to fulfill those tasks set for us to further develop the socialist society in the GDR and required by the struggle to avert the danger of a world war and for lastingly ensuring peace.

We wish you wholeheartedly good health, creative vigor and further victories in the advance of the Soviet people on the paths to communism, staked out by the 26th CPSU Congress, and in the interest of a peaceful future of entire mankind.

With communist greetings,

E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

W. Stoph, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Berlin, 19 December 1981

Honecker Speaks 19 Dec

AU231252 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 81 p 2

[Speech by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, speech at the festive reception in the Kremlin on 19 December 1981 to mark CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's 75th birthday]

[Text] Distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev:

It is with great pleasure and with emotion inside that I am conveying to you here in Moscow, in the midst of tested co-strugglers, the most cordial congratulations of the SED Central Committee, of the State Council, Council of Ministers and of the GDR people on your 75th birthday. I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the high distinction awarded to you by the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The communists, the working people of our socialist worker-peasant state are showing great respect and sympathy for you, distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich. Their respect and affinity are due to the outstanding Marxist-Leninist who worthily continues the project of communist building begun by the great Lenin, as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and as chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Dear Comrade Leonid Ilich, with your entire political activity you have earned historic credit for the emergence and growth of the most developed and powerful state of the world, the Soviet Union.

Regardless of what responsible tasks the party assigned to you -- you have always discharged your communist mission with the far-sightedness, creative vigor and principle-mindedness that are typical of you. In doing so revolutionary optimism, affinity with the people and solicitude for the well-being of man are unmistakeable characteristics of your activities.

It is with an inspiring strength, relying on the confidence and work enthusiasm of the working people of the vast Soviet country that you are working at the head of the party and state for the noblest goals of mankind. The 26th CPSU Congress which has set an important landmark for the further advance to communism, in the struggle for peace and progress, has impressively reaffirmed this.

Distinguished Leonid Ilich, we all know how close it has always been to your heart to strengthen the unity and international influence of the socialist community of states. It is more decisive in the world today than ever that the vital interests of the peoples can be solved in their interest, in the interest of progress.

We honor you as an untiring champion of the cause of peace and international security. You have yourself experienced what war is and what sufferings and destruction it brings to the peoples. These experiences are linked with the gigantic struggle in which the heroic Soviet people crushed Hitler fascism and saved mankind from barbarianism. In the spirit of the Red October the Soviet Union is discharging its world historic peace mission even today. You, distinguished Leonid Ilich, are performing for this purpose dedicated, enterprising work which is highly respected all over the globe.

It is from the Soviet Union that the strongest incentives for putting an end to the arms race, for arms limitation and disarmament and for the continuation of detente are originating again and again. This is why they are eliciting the support of all people of good will who seriously want to banish the danger of a nuclear world war. If the peoples will take the cause of peace into their own hands then it is possible -- we are convinced of this -- to lastingly safeguard peace.

Distinguished Comrade Leonid Ilich, we assure you that the GDR will also in the future, side by side with the USSR and all other fraternal countries, honorably fulfill its international duty in solidarity with all strugglers for social and national liberation.

I wish you from the bottom of my heart, on behalf of the SED and the GDR people, good health, creative vigor and new successes in your responsible activity for the great cause of communism and peace.

ISRAELI ANNEXATION OF GOLAN HEIGHTS CONDEMNED

AU221429 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Dec 81 p 5

["K.-H.W." commentary headlined "Appalling Attack on International Law and Peace; on the Annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights by Israel"]

[Text] With an impertinent violation of international law the Zionist rulers of Tel Aviv have carried the tensions in the Middle East to extremes: They issued a law which puts the Syrian Golan Heights under Israel's "legislation, jurisdiction and administration."

The bold seizure was long prepared. Since June 1967 when the Israeli Army occupied this area in the course of its criminal aggression against Syria, Egypt and Jordan, it has expelled the major part of the 147,000 Syrians living there. The aggressors have systematically destroyed their homes and confiscated the ground on which they have established about 30 Zionist settlements.

But so far neither the Government of the Israeli Social Democrats nor the one that has been in office since 1977 and which is headed by the right-extremist Likud block of the former terrorist leader Begin dared to take the final step, direct annexation. The ruling cliques felt compelled to employ tactical resources. For by their policy of expansion inspired by wild chauvinism they had totally isolated themselves internationally and had repeatedly embarrassed even those imperialist states whose sympathy for the Zionists is notorious but which want to get into business with certain Arab states from global-strategic and economic considerations.

But now, so thought the Likud Zionists and their leader, the situation for the annexation has come. About 3 weeks ago the United States and Israel signed the first military alliance in the history of the two states, which was concealed as a "memorandum of agreement." The Zionist rulers rightly consider this as strengthening their position, as military-strategic backing. At the same time Washington increased its political baiting campaign against progressive Arab forces. Incited by that and speculating that the international public would be preoccupied by events in Europe, the imperialist proteges in Tel Aviv made their predatory coup.

Whatever efforts the Tel Aviv government head may use to justify this renewed challenge to the peoples and disrespect for their vital interests, however much Washington may hedge in its discomfiture -- a storm of resetnment has broken throughout the world. The Golan Heights are part of Syria and will remain so forever. The law rushed through in the Knesset is illegal, invalid from the view point of international law, for it is definitely an aggression and everybody who does not condemn it or who tries to prevent condemnation by the UN Security Council -- as Washington has done -- maked himself an accessory. The solidarity of all those who have international law and the UN Charter at heart, including the citizens of our republic, go to the Syrian Arab Republic and its people.

This example of greedy Zionist expansion once again shows the need to take energetic steps to solve the conflict in the Middle East on the basis of the UN resolutions and with the participation of all interested sides. Only in this way can the elementary norms in international relations prevail in this area of such world political importance and can a further endangering of peace be stopped.

COMMENTARY ON GENEVA TALKS, U.S.-ISRAELI CLASH

DW221345 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Albert Reiss' review of the past week's events]

[Excerpts] The peace movement is a broad and multifaceted movement. In the capitalist countries it even comprises controversial political and ideological positions. Consequently, the propelling forces of the struggle for peace are different in nature because the motives are not always identical. Let me recall this because it is remarkable indeed that the multitude of proposals coming from the ranks of the peace movement practically are congruent without exception with proposals, concepts and initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact. In any event, there is not a single proposal on the part of the socialist countries which might be at variance with proposals and demands from among the ranks of the peace movement, something that one definitely dannot say of the other side, of NATO. This even holds true for proposals and demands pertaining to the Soviet defense potential.

The Soviet Union has put up all its nuclear medium-range weapons for negotiations, and by this attitude it fundamentally differs from the United States. What I am talking about is the Geneva negotiations. This is great progress.

Let us only recall that the United States originally did not want any negotiations at all, that contacts and talks were supposed to be replaced by boycott and sanctions. Well, in that respect the socialist countries and the peace movement have made some headway indeed.

What now matters is to insure that the negotiations will also produce a positive result. The Soviet Union has shown a practicable course because neither side would be outsmarted. What I mean is the proposal concerning the moratorium and, above all, its expansion, as suggested by Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn. As long as negotiations are in progress, no nuclear weapons of medium range should be stationed, nor should any of the existing weapons of that kind be modernized. This proposal has been in existence since the 26th CPSU Congress.

There have been some Western statesmen, too, by the way, who already came out with such a proposal or a similar one. Only, it was dismissed in the West. Yet, what the expansion of the Soviet proposal means is that the USSR has declared, through Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn, its readiness to reduce part of the Soviet medium-range missiles in the European part of the country, as a unilateral advance concession for the sake of promoting the negotiations. We can see by the individual points of the Soviet course of action that the USSR is exploiting every existing room, and seeking new room of action, for the purpose of not only keeping the talks, the negotiations, going but also, and above all, of creating preconditions for positive results. And finally, its proposals end up in the concept also expounded by Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn: The Soviet Union advocates the view that Europe be free from nuclear weapons of any kind, those of medium range as well as those of tactical nature.

This is not a zero solution with exceptions but a zero solution which is in keeping with the meaning of the word zero, namely, no nuclear weapons at all -- hence a genuine zero solution. It turns out with absolute clarity that all those who reject the Soviet moratorium proposal on the grounds that it allegedly perpetuates some Soviet superiority which, let me state this here and now, does not exist at all, are wrong. If we look at these proposals as a whole -- that is, the moratorium as the precondition for unilateral advance concession of the Soviet Union in the reduction of medium-range missiles and the goal of having all nuclear weapons disappear from our continent -- it turns out that what matters here is not the perpetuation of a situation but its change.

The proposal does open the road toward the removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe. This is concrete peace policy. It is linked, closely linked even, with the name of Brezhnev. But frankly speaking, nobody in the socialist countries would have any regrets if a policy likewise concretely promoting the safeguarding of peace and disarmament could be linked with the names of statesmen from the West. Nobody in our countries would regret this because we do not claim any exclusivity of the struggle for peace and security. Yet, what is absolutely necessary is the concrete nature of this struggle.

It was an eventful week, dear listeners, this week before last in 1981. It is impossible, really, to look into all important events here. Only one more thing: What transpired during the past few days in the relations between Israel and the United States is quite remarkable. Watching developments one could even wonder at a certain point: When will Israel's declaration of war on the United States come? Or at least the severance of diplomatic relations? In the meantime the tempers begin to be held again, including Begin's, yet it would be erroneous to regard this as a mere tempest in a teapot. The contradictions do exist, but the common interests continue to exist as well. Menachem Begin is right as well as wrong in one point, when he laments that the United States treats Israel like a banana republic. He is right if he means by this that out of his profound knowledge of his partner -- the United States -- he would not put anything past the policy of the United States. At the same time he is wrong, because, if the United States really treated Israel like a so-called banana republic, a coup d'etat would have happened in Israel long ago. And who knows what would have happened to Begin, himself?

It becomes veritably grotesque, however, if Begin says that he studied the history of the Vietnam war and that he will not take any lessons in human rights from the United States. This really is reminiscent of Heine's representation of a religious dispute which made to poet say: And it makes me nearly think that both the rabbi and the monk just stink.

Just imagine: A dispute over human rights between Begin whose people infernally terrorize the Arab population of Palestine, and the United States which committed misdeeds in Vietnam unprecedented since 1945.

You know, dear listeners, that the quarrel started over the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel. This act of Israel, however, in turn made quite plain again the whole dilemma of U.S. Middle-East policy. On the one hand Israel is and remains the main ally of the United States in the Middle East -- and Secretary of State Haig unequivocally indicated this again the other day. On the other hand it is not just Israel that exists in the Middle East but also the Arab countries. This means that winning conservative and reactionary Arab forces over for this policy would have required an option [for the United States] to justify this policy. And this would have required a minimum of readiness for concession on the part of Israel. Begin, however, wants to dictate, and he thus ends up in conflict with the global interests of the United States.

By now they are trying to settle the matter. In the past the United States has always delivered to Israel the weapons which Israel demanded.

SYRIA'S AL-ASAD RECEIVES SED'S KLEIBER 16 DEC

LD170042 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1454 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Damascus, 16 Dec (ADN) -- In Damascus today Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, received Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building, who is currently visiting Damascus for the sixth meeting of the joint Syrian-GDR Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. Guenther Kleiber conveyed to the Syrian president heartiest greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

During the talk Guenther Kleiber stressed that the GDR, together with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, will steadfastly continue the struggle to safeguard world peace, to guarantee international security, for arms limitation, disarmament and detente.

Hafiz al-Asad and Guenther Kleiber stressed the danger of United States' confrontation policy and the striving for military superiority. Aggressive imperialist circles are trying to revise the results of the policy of detente. Hafiz al-Asad and Guenther Kleiber agreed that the imperialist policy of arms race and aggression greatly threatens the peace and security of all peoples. This calls for close cooperation between the socialist states and the liberated nations and also all national liberation movements.

Hafiz al-Asad said Syria regards Israel's decision to finally annex the Golan Heights as a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, of the UN decisions and of the will of international public opinion. Guenther Kleiber gave the assurance that the GDR will continue to support all activities for the condemnation of the policy of aggression, which drove Israel into close collaboration with the United States.

COMMENTARIES ANALYZE U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST USSR

Linked with 'Normalization'

LD302120 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Istvan Kulcsar commentary]

[Text] After President Reagan really decided on the economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, 24 hours after the deliberate leaking, these same sources of leaks now suggest to journalists that all this really is scarcely more than a symbolic measure, with which Washington wants to express its disapproval to the Soviet Union because of its role in the establishment and maintenance of the state of emergency in Poland. According to the justification, 1983 is still far away. The grain sales talks for then have now been postponed. Washington is not throwing obstacles in the way of the transportation of the amount contracted for 1982.

Until now, Aeroflot operated only two flights a week between Moscow and Washington. Therefore, the suspension of these is not significant, continues the U.S. reasoning. The so-called developed technological goods, mainly electronic articles, for whose transportation to the Soviet Union the U.S. administration will not grant permits, this year made up altogether 3 percent of goods exchange. Besides, the Soviet Union will acquire them from other capitalist countries.

The prohibition of the transportation of pipe-laying machines ordered for the construction of the gasline between Siberia and West Europe is addressed at least as much to the FRG as to the Soviet Union. It is well known that Washington tried in every way in Bonn to prevent the construction of the gasline, but without results.

The U.S.-Soviet technical-scientific exchange agreement was restricted anyway. And so on. There is objective truth in all this, but precisely the nature of principle of the new punitive measures, which is emphasized so much on the U.S. part, underlines their cold-war nature. Moreover, it is striking that the more the situation in Poland normalizes, the more the United States calls for further so-called punitive measures against Poland and the Soviet Union.

By the way, the U.S. commentators are unable to emphasize what the Washington administration very unwillingly admits, that with its most recent anti-Soviet and Polish measures it remains alone internationally. Its West European and Japanese allies are not following it. Perhaps on the official U.S. part there are attempts to present the sanctions prescribed yesterday as level-headed and moderate in order to calm the latter.

(?It is doubtful) that the Reagan administration will stop where it is now. Both President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig clearly said yesterday that if they consider it necessary, they can still prescribe further punitive measures. Reagan characteristically spoke on the occasion of his ceremoniously signing the laws adopted by the congress during the past period, including the record $200 billion military budget.

The U.S. State Department has already gone one step further in (?the blackmail). It has been announced that the holding of the Soviet-U.S. foreign ministerial meeting fixed for the end of January in Geneva is being reexamined. Scarcely 24 hours earlier, it was still said that the U.S. side still wanted this meeting.

Sanctions Lack Support

LD310030 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] President Reagan, under the pretext of sanctions, has tried to disrupt the construction of the Soviet gas pipeline to West Europe.

The plan for the pipeline has been a thorn in Washington's side for a long time, but the FRG and France, despite the (?greatest) pressure, nevertheless signed a contract with the Soviet Union for the construction of the pipeline. According to specialists, and even American specialists whose views have been heard today, the prohibition of the transport of gas and oil industry equipment can disrupt the pace of the contruction of the pipeline, but the missing equipment can be acquired from Japan or West Europe. Regarding the stopping of the grain transport talks earmarked for 1983, the president of the Association of American Farmers, while assuring the administration of his loyalty, nevertheless recalled, I quote, that the farmers still have not been able to work off the damage caused to them by the embargo introduced by Carter in January 1980.

Naturally this does not change the aggressiveness of the American administration. Since the Polish situation has not been developing according to Washington's (?taste), the American administration has been behaving like the notorious bureaucrat of the famous Russian satirist, (Stedrin), who stated, with regard to the United States of the end of the last century, which did not please Tsarist Russia: America must be closed up. Then he looked at the map and sighed; unfortunately, however, this does not depend on me.

In this regard it would be worthwhile to look at a map, and at the other side of the sea, too. The Soviet Union is not a country to which one can dictate. It is undeniable that the present American foreign policy gravely damages the international atmosphere. According to a (?state department) spokesman, the Soviet-American arms limitations talks in Geneva -- and I quote -- will be held in all probability on 12 January, according to schedule. The spokesman added that the plans for the meeting of Gromyko and Secretary of State Haig in Jaunary, as he said, must be reexamined.

Washington would like to win the support of its allies for its actions, which have increased tension. However, the first reactions bear witness that neither Japan, nor the FRG, nor the great majority of the Common Market 10 are very great followers of the sanctions policy. And from this viewpoint, it is particularly noteworthy that right after Reagan's anti-Soviet and anti-Polish onslaught and in the wake of a telephone conversation with Chancellor Schmidt, who is vacationing in the United States, Foreign Minister Genscher invited one of the key persons of the Polish Government anathematized by the President to visit Bonn today.

USSR SECURITY COMMITTEE HEAD ANDROPOV DEPARTS

LD301240 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Dec (MTI) -- Invited by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chairman of the State Security Committee of the Soviet Union, paid an official friendship visit to Budapest between December 28 and 29.

During his visit he had talks with Istvan Horvath, Hungary's minister of the interior. They discussed issues with a shared interest for both sides.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, and they had talks in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov left Budapest on Tuesday. He was seen off at eastern railway station by Mihaly Korom, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, and Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior.

NATIONAL RED CROSS, CHURCH SEND AID TO POLAND

LD310036 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Dec (MTI) -- The Hungarian Red Cross launched a nation-wide action last week for supporting those Polish citizens who need assistance the most.

A great number of Hungarian citizens and communities have already joined the aid programme.

The secretariat of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, considering the severe supply problems of the Polish people, has granted medicine, food and other goods worth 15 million forints from its Solidarity fund for relieving these problems.

The leading bodies of Hungarian churches have called upon priests and believers to support the aid programme of the Hungarian Red Cross. On behalf of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy, Cardinal Dr Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom, asked Hungarian Catholic clergy and believers to offer new year's eve donations for relieving the troubles of the Polish people.

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL IMPROVES ANNUAL LEAVE 29 DEC

LD300046 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] The Presidential Council held a session today. It approved a law about the protection of the land, and a new legal regulation about associations. It also altered the existing system of basic and additional annual leave. My colleague, Ingrid Tarjani, has prepared a summary of the details of this last subject:

The essence of the alteration is as follows: The 5-day working week is being introduced in most places in Hungary from January. Taking the new work schedule as the point of departure, 5 working days will assure 1 week's leave within the given amount of annual leave. That means that from 1982, the weekly work-free day will not be considered part of the annual leave. [sentence as heard] the basic annual leave will increase from the present 2 weeks to 3 weeks. Basic annual leave will continue to be supplemented by additional leave given on the basis of the length of time served. However, that will increase by 1 day for every 3 years instead of the current 1 day for every 2 years. In any case, it can amount to 9 days a year at most. On the basis of this and taken together, the basic annual leave and the additional leave granted on the basis of the length of service can amount to a maximum of 24 days a year, that is to say 5 week's leave, minus 1 day.

Certain types of additional and special leave are being abolished, others are being reduced and yet others will remain unchanged. Thus, there is to be a reduction, for instance, in additional leave given for various kinds of employment, and there is to be a decrease, among others, in study leave and special leave granted to sportsmen. Additional leave given to minors who are in employment, to mothers, pedagogues, miners and those employed in work involving the danger of radiation will remain. Maternity, child care and child nursing leave will remain unchanged.

The Presidential Council also considered that taking some temporary measures is necessary, primarily because enterprises are not introducing the 5-day working week in a uniform way and also because certain workers, currently benefiting from additional leave, would be unfavorably affected by the new decree. The basic principle is that employees must not suffer any disadvantages. The changes in the system of annual leave is to come into force on 1 January 1982.

BRIEFS

WRITERS' ASSOCIATION ELECTIONS -- At the Monday meeting of the electorate of the Hungarian Writers' Association (MISZ) Miklos Hubay was elected chairman; Gyula Fekete and Andras Fodor, deputy chairmen; and Miklos Jovanovics, secretary general. Members of the Presidium and the Secretariat were also elected. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Dec 81 p 7 WA]

RAKOWSKI MEETS WITH FRG OFFICIALS IN BONN

LD310131 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski arrived on a visit to the FRG capital yesterday. He had a conversation with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and federal minister of foreign affairs, familiarizing him with Poland's sociopolitical and economic situation and with its internal and international circumstances. The deputy premier also presented the Polish Government stance regarding the Western states' reaction to the events in Poland. Issues pertaining to mutual relations were also a subject of the talks.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski also met Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, SPD deputy chairman, and Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP parliamentary group. At the request of Vice Chancellor Genscher, Mieczyslaw Rakowski also had a conversation with Alois Mertes, chairman of the working group for foreign policy matters of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group.

FRG TV Interviews Rakowski

DW310957 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Ernst Dieter Lueg interview with Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Bonn on 30 December -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Rakowski, did you bring along an answer to the Federal Government, a reply to the letter which the chancellor has written to General Jaruzelski?

[Answer] The letter will be forthcoming in the next few days.

[Question] Were you able to reassure the government and the representatives of the parties that martial law in Poland will be lifted in the foreseeable future and that the interned people will be released?

[Answer] What I did was describe to my discussion partners the situation in Poland, no more.

[Question] What do you desire from the German Government, Mr Rakcwski, also in connection with the U.S. sanctions?

[Answer] Well, in my opinion we must highly assess the realistic attitude adopted by the Federal Republic. It is very realistic, and we believe that this is the only -- let us say -- sound position.

[Question] Will contacts continue between the Polish Government and the Federal Government? Will you come back to Bonn again?

[Answer] I don't know, but I do hope that the contacts will be constant.

[Question] What about the expectations in Poland regarding what could be done for Poland by the Federal Republic of Germany?

[Answer] Well, I believe that the Poles expect the Federal Republic to further develop with the Polish People's Republic sound and prudent economic assistance -- we might say assistance, not only assistance but also cooperation -- in the next few weeks and months.

U.S. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST USSR REPORTED

LD302204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan yesterday announced an extensive seven-point program of sanctions against the Soviet Union, declaring that he is taking them because the Soviet Union allegedly interfered in Polish affairs and bears direct responsibility for the recent events in Poland.

Moreover, Reagan announced that future events in our country will be watched attentively and he did not rule out further repressive actions against Poland and the Soviet Union.

MINISTER VIEWS U.S. RESTRICTIONS ON POLAND

LD302328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Editor Kazimierz Zalejski interview with Minister of Maritime Economy Stanislaw Baiger -- date and place not given: live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Minister, what is the current situation in our ports; how are they working now?

[Answer] The situation in our seaports is normal; all ports are working on three shifts, with normal work forces. I think that we can even talk about increased productivity, of speeded-up transloading of ships and freight cars in recent days. True, after the introduction of the state of martial law we had stoppages, relatively minor stoppages, in Szczecin port, and somewhat longer stoppages in Gdansk port. However, after those stoppages, the port employees worked very intensively. First of all they cleared the snow from our ports and then made efforts to catch up on the backlog. I think that today we can already say that the backlog of freight cars has been made up in full.

The transloading of vessels, primarily those which have come with raw materials, is currently in progress. We are particularly concentrating on the transloading of iron ore concentrates. In the past few days we have received 65,000 tons of such ore from Murmansk, brought by Soviet ships, which are now being unloaded for the requirements of our steelworks. We have good cooperation with the railroad workers; the state railways are providing the proper number of trucks and I think that we will be able to supply the necessary raw materials for our steelworks with regularity.

[Question] And how about coal shipments?

[Answer] Unfortunately, coal shipments are minimal at the moment, because of the virtual ban on exporting coal and because of domestic requirements. On the other hand, there is a great increase in the shipment of grain and (?fodder), as well as intensified import shipments, primarily of southern fruits and other goods needed by our market. True, as a result of the sanctions introduced by U.S. President Reagan, we have recently witnessed a certain decrease in shipments of foodstuffs from the United States, but there are still several vessels unloading foodstuffs for our country in the ports.

It is known that, as a result of the existing ban on the loading of Polish cargoes in U.S. ports, they have prevented a cargo of 1,250 tons of butter and 38 tons of powdered milk from being loaded onto our ships and the implementation of a contract for the delivery of 18,000 tons of cheese and butter and 10,000 tons of powdered milk has also been blocked. These are cargoes which were to have been loaded onto our ships in the next few days. In this connection, unfortunately we must redeploy part of our fleet from the North American line to another line. Here [words indistinct] we are sending some ships to Canadian ports, to service the export of (?fish) via Canada as appropriate from Canada to Polish ports.

[Question] The restrictions imposed by the American Government on Poland also apply to fisheries. What effect is this having on our fishing industry?

[Answer] Unfortunately, those restrictions currently affect 27 vessels which are in American waters, where traditionally we have caught sea fish. In 1981 we were authorized to catch 250,000 tons of fish in those waters.

In the first quarter of 1982 we were to have caught 42,000 tons of sea fish in U.S. fishing grounds. As a result of the ban by the U.S. President we will have to take those vessels out of American waters as of 1 January and redeploy them in other fishing grounds, which will create difficulties for us and may also have a considerable effect on lowering our catches, since the losses incurred through this will certainly be fairly considerable. [Word indistinct] on help from other states; for instance, we are counting on some of these vessels being able to fish in Canadian fishing grounds and other waters in that region.

[Question] And how is the situation in other fishing grounds apart from the American ones?

[Answer] First and foremost, our cutter enterprises in the Baltic have been operating normally throughout the entire period since the introduction of the state of martial law. With certain stoppages of course, but only as a result of storms and vacation breaks. At present 81 cutters are operating in the fishing grounds. These are doing very well and I think that this fresh fish from the Baltic will be useful in the coming days on our consumers' tables.

In the remaining deep-sea fishing grounds we are operating unhindered and there are no signs that the obstacles introduced by the United States will have any effect at all on decreasing our catches in fishing grounds apart from the American ones.

[Question] Will these restrictions have any significance for freight carried by the merchant fleet?

[Answer] The restrictions apply in practice only to Polish cargoes carried from the United States to Poland and vice versa.

[Question] (?Will this not) seriously cut the food imports to Poland?

[Answer] Of course, of course, because in the recent period foodstuffs have played a very important role in our imports from the United States. Unfortunately, this will have a serious effect not only on our fleet but on our entire economy, and above all it will affect the consumers, who to a great extent counted on the possibility of the supplementary import of foodstuffs from the United States. However, as I have already said, those vessels on the American line will be redeployed on other lines and will find employment, because the Polish fleet not only carries Polish foreign trade cargoes. Unfortunately such freight is constantly falling because of the curtailment of our exports and imports, but we are filling that place with increasing foreign cargoes, such as transit cargoes from our closest neighbors, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary; but there has also been a considerable increase in cargoes carried between foreign ports. This is so-called "cross-trade" and therefore constitutes the export of services by the Polish fleet. I think that this is also very valuable to our economy, because in this way the merchant fleet not only earns free foreign currency to cover its operational expenditure, to cover the costs of fuel and so forth, but it also brings our national economy tangible revenue in free foreign currency.

I also think that an important question next year will be the expansion of transit cargoes in Polish ports. This year there has been a considerable increase in transit through Polish ports, above all of Hungarian, Czechoslovak and GDR transit cargoes, and we expect in 1982 a much greater increase in transit cargoes, particularly in the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex, which will have the effect not only of properly exploiting the transloading potential in our ports and give employment to our dockers, but will also make a considerable contribution to increasing the influx of foreign currency to our ports.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Sanctions

LD302116 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- In a commentary carried by TRYBUNA LUDU on Dec 30 Daniel Lulinski discussed the differences between Washington's and Western governments' stands on Poland.

"President Reagan was not satisfied with imposing economic, financial, air traffic and fishing 'sanctions' on Poland for the determination (of the Polish authorities) to put this country in order and prevent it from a bloody confrontation.

"The Washington administration also urged its allies in Western Europe (and even Japan) to harm Poland", the daily said.

Quoting the U.S. secretary of state, W. Stoessel as saying that Western Europe views the events in Poland from a different angle than the U.S.A. and that West European countries have different geographic and trade interests, the daily said these are not the only motivations of Western Europe's attitude.

"The will to continue the detente process in the East-West relations is also among them, and so is the will to protect this process against the hasty measures dictated by the requirements of the U.S. global strategy of opposing the Soviet Union and progressive forces in general", TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

"The bitter memories of the unsuccessful, imposed by Washington, boycott of the Olympic games in Moscow or American attempts to torpedo the mutually advantageous trade and cooperation between the EEC and the CMEA countries are still alive and criticized in Western Europe, the daily recalled next.

In the context of critical American opinions of the American restrictions against Poland, the reasons why Western Europe's calls for moderation and wariness can be seen", TRYBUNA LUDU wrote in the end. "The realistic West European circles justly estimate President Reagan's sanctions against Poland as an attempt to disturb the constructive cooperation on our continent," the daily concluded.

U.S. Stance Viewed

LD802202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1551 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] When former Polish Ambassador to Washington Romauld Spasowski requested a meeting with President Reagan as Poland's representative, the audience was delayed month after month because, the reply went, the President had no time. When Spasowski approached the American authorities for asylum, thus betraying his country, President Reagan received him immediately. The President shared the host spot with him, and even the Presidential umbrella was produced to shelter the guest from rain on his way to the car.

The President's real intentions have become quite clear to everybody, not only in Poland but also in the United States. It is quite easy now to understand the previous policy of the Washington administration. When anarchy and chaos were deepening in Poland, when they wanted to make us tighten the noose around our neck much was said about the need to help struggling Poland; even more was promised.

Now, when the nation's circumstances have by no means improved, but we ourselves have thrown off this deadly noose, the United States has not only boycotted food supplies to Poland but has also urged the governments of the EEC nations to follow its example.

These proposals have not been welcomed because even a President of a great power loses prestige when, while preaching great humanitarian ideals, his actions are quite the opposite.

But I am not concerned about Reagan's prestige. Ultimately this will not influence the fate of our country, nor will it weaken the traditional ties of friendship between the Polish and American nations. I am most worried that the slogans of freedom and democracy, so hypocritically thrown about by President Reagan -- similarly to his predecessor, Carter, by the way -- should not be further devalued. Cynicism is not a new feature in politics, but even people who pursue demagogic and cynical politics must bear in mind that there are limits to ordinary, human decency which should not be crossed.

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON POLICY GUIDELINES

LD302128 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz presented the main lines of Polish foreign policy in the coming period in an interview for a PAP reporter.

"Our assumption is the immutability of principles and the continuation of Poland's hitherto foreign policy based on our national interests and connected with the socialist socioeconomic development of this country, and promoting detente and international cooperation which will continue to be the main contents of our international activity. Friendship, alliance and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries has been and will continue to be the basic premise of security and development of the independent and socialist Poland", said the vice-minister.

"As so far, problems of international security will occupy a special place. Internal steps taken recently in Poland aimed also to avert a threat to the security of Europe. We will back all forms of international activity which will create a climate of trust in Europe and which could consolidate the sense of security and peaceful stability. This is necessary for Poland in view of her location, her numerous ties with European states and participation in cooperation on our continent.

We continually deem the CSCE Final Act as a major attainment of the states -- its signatories, as an important instrument of the development of international cooperation. We will resume its implementation as quickly as possible, after the establishment of internal conditions necessary for it, after the abolition of martial law.

Poland will remain the opponent of the arms race. Therefore, we attach such great weight to the Soviet-USSR [as received] disarmament dialogue.

The successful completion of the Madrid debates should, in our opinion, lead to convening a conference of military detente and disarmament in Europe, to which we are striving together with other socialist countries.

Poland's grave economic crisis also faces us with tasks concerning participation of our country in cooperation in this sphere. We want to create conditions enabling Poland to take a full part in the international division of labor.

We expect our joining in the International Monetary fund to be helpful to us in this area. Our potential and raw materials create real premises for becoming an interesting economic partner after solving the present difficulties.

In replying to a question about the development of relations with other countries, Jozef Wiejacz said:

"The USSR and other fraternal countries of the socialist community will remain our closest partners. We are linked by the convergence of interests within the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is also the community of systems that underlies our cooperation. In our present economic situation, these countries showed us genuine understanding and fraternal and selfless economic assistance which we need so much.

"A number of problems expected solution accumulated in our relations with some countries with different social systems. We expect these countries to show more understanding and realism.

"We will strive to wider develop relations with a big group of Third World states. The overwhelming majority of these countries show sympathy to Poland. There are potential conditions for considerably increasing cooperation in economy, science and culture and also for intensifying political dialogue", Jozef Wiejacz said.

JARUZELSKI RECALLS FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

LD302022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] At the request of the foreign affairs minister, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Prof Marian Dobrosielski from the post of under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because of his transfer to scholarly work.

FORMER ENVOYS' ATTACKS ON AUTHORITIES NOTED

LD310000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Former Polish Ambassadors to the United States and Japan Romualo Spasowski and Zdislaw Rurarz, who betrayed their country by asking for asylum in the United States, have joined in anti-Polish activities. Spasowski in a press statement and Rurarz in a speech to a Congress commission, attacked the authorities of the country which they had previously for a long time and without any reservations represented abroad. They have gone so far in their betrayal that they have called on the United States to impose a total economic boycott in Poland.

Rurarz: 'Face of Betrayal'

LD302216 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Zdzislaw Rurarz, former ambassador of Poland to Japan, has followed in the footsteps of another traitor who was also a former ambassador, Romuald Spasowski, by granting right, left and center press and television interviews. We have obtained one of these interviews thanks to Eurovision. The former ambassador is beside himself with anger and indignation toward his own country.

In reply to a question put by a reporter of the ABC Television Network as to whether he considered the embargo on food supplies to be really necessary, Rurarz replied without the slightest hesitation in the affirmative.

No trade, no credits and no food supplies for the Polish Government Zdzislaw Rurarz shouted at the forum of the U.S. Congress. The former ambassador also demanded an economic boycott of the Soviet Union.

As regards the demanded economic sanctions from the West toward Poland, Rurarz added that food supplies should be sent to the church in Poland in whose hands the further distribution directly to those most in need is placed.

As regards the latter matter considerable amounts of foodstuffs, medicines and clothes sent in by various aid organizations from the West have been passed on for a long time to the address of the charity commission of the Polish Episcopate. What is more, the AFP agency has reported that following the declaration by President Reagan of economic sanctions against our country, U.S. churches intend to increase assistance for the Polish nation.

The sporadic appeals by certain extremist circles in the West guided by Zdzislaw Rurarz that the reaction to the introduction of martial law should be the witholding of this assistance have fallen on deaf ears in the societies of the West. The assistance which has been organized by charity institutions continues to come in from France, Austria, Spain and other countries.

As for the economic embargo whose introduction Rurarz is demanding, it has never proved effective against other countries. What President Reagan and his new allies of the Zdzislaw Rurarz type are demanding is supposed to make our economic situation more difficult and is supposed to strike a blow against the daily life of the average Pole. For President Reagan the assistance for our nation, which he has declared on many occasions, has always been and remains solely an instrument of a policy which hits out against our system and our sovereignty.

However, the appeals by Zdzislaw Rurarz to deprive us of deliveries for which contracts have been signed reveal the exceptionally detestable face of betrayal of this prosperous former man of prominence of the past period. You see, these appeals apply first and foremost to enterprises producing food. The Polish nation is experiencing hard days but we shall get through them. In our history we have come out well on more than one occasion from great difficulties and for traitors we shall always have nothing but scorn.

FORMER DIPLOMAT ACCUSED OF WORKING FOR CIA

LD301900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] We learn from the press spokesman at the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the investigation conducted by the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the supervision of the supreme military prosecutor, against Bohdan Walecki, is nearing completion.

Bohdan Walecki, for many years an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, former deputy director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs and former employee at diplomatic missions, including the United States, and recently head of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was detained by the security services in March on the charge of espionage.

In the course of proceedings the employees of the Ministry of Interanl Affairs' Counterintelligence Branch found numerous proofs on him of his spying activities, including means of communication, espionage instructions and secret documents from the Ministry of Foriegn Affairs, filmed by the agent, and prepared for handing over.

In the course of the investigation it was established that Bohdan Walecki was recruited for intelligence cooperation for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency during his work at a foreign mission.

MILITARY COUNCIL ASKS SEJM TO SET UP TRIBUNAL

LD301714 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] In connection with the need to define the responsibility of those guilty of causing the deep crisis in the seventies, the Military Council of National Salvation has decided to ask the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to set up a tribunal of state.

STATE COUNCIL POSTPONES PEOPLE'S COUNCILS ELECTIONS

LD301800 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] A meeting of the State Council was held today in the Belweder Palace. On the motion of the Military Council of National Salvation the State Council has adopted a resolution concerning the postponement of elections for the lowest-level People's Councils, which were elected on 5 February 1978, until the emergence of conditions which make it possible to hold them in an atmosphere of social peace and in the spirit of the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic.

The State Council has acknowledged the declaration of the Military Council of National Salvation to the effect that it will make efforts to enable the representative organs to resume normal activities as soon as possible.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HOLDS MEETING 30 DECEMBER

LD301939 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The government press spokesman reports that the Council of Ministers had a meeting today. It discussed the country's current sociopolitical and economic situation, taking into consideration primarily the conditions brought about by the introduction of martial law.

Guided by the recommendation of the Military Council of National Salvation, the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on the functioning of the economy under martial law. A detailed report on the decision together with comment will be carried by tomorrow's press.

As the next item on the agenda the Council of Ministers examined a report from the minister of domestic trade and services concerning market supplies during the first quarter of 1982.

Next the meeting adopted a government decision on "the miners new" charter. It grants to miners in all sections of the industry several privileges in addition to those already in force. They will come into force on 1 February 1982. In the adopted decree the Council of Ministers has extended by some 500,000 persons the number of employees included in the first category of employment. The decree will encompass all employees working in detrimental and onerous conditions, those exposed to vocational hazards and those exposed to considerable danger.

The Council of Ministers has also issued a decree on the universal obligation to work while martial law is in force. The compulsory work decree applies to men of 18-45 years.

The Council of Ministers has also acquainted itself with a report on the danger of flooding in some parts of the country.

Universal Work Decree

LD302126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] In a published decree the Council of Ministers introduces the universal obligation to work for men aged 18 - 45. This obligation does not apply to: old-age pensioners; annuitants; the disabled and those permanently incapable of work; men in sole charge of children aged up to 15 or other members of the family. Also excluded are the owners of private farms and the members of their families employed there, and pupils, students, the clergy of churches and religious organizations, and men sent to work abroad. Men who because of their state of health or personal circumstances are incapable of working may also be exempted. A written application is, however, required from the interested person.

Men subject to the universal obligation to work and who are temporarily unemployed are obliged to report to a summons from the appropriate state administration organ and to take up work as directed.

University graduates who have not yet started work are obliged to report to a summons from plenipotentiaries of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs at their colleges. Directions to take up work are obligatory for every enterprise. It is stressed in the document that the administration organ directing people to work should take into consideration as far as possible the professional qualifications, the wishes and the family circumstances of candidates, the possibility of employment near home and also the possibilities of professionally training people without the essential qualifications.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON BIRTH BENEFITS

LD301354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The issue of statutory benefits previously paid by trade unions for the birth of a child, or for the death of an employee or member of his family, is resolved by a decision of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, which states that compensatory payment benefits should be temporarily paid from enterprise social funds in equal amounts according to the financial capability of the fund. The benefits are now available for all employees for members of their families, regardless of their former union membership, in equal amounts, regardless of differential benefits paid previously by various unions.

The benefits should also be paid to employees who previously did not belong to a trade union from the source financing the benefits, that is, from enterprise social funds, which in principle serve the needs of the entire workforce.

PZPR SUPPORTS REQUEST FOR SEJM TRIBUNAL

LD302356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Let us remind you that the matter of setting up a body to deal with an examination of socially important issues mentioned in the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation was strongly reflected in the deliberations of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The congress, let us remind you, referring to the many proposals made in the campaign preceding it and referring to the consistent, honest and absolute settling of accounts with those people guilty of causing the deep socioeconomic and political crisis in the country, formulated the appropriate obligations as regards the Central Committee the PZPR and Sejm Deputies' Club.

In the forum of the broad debate which was conducted in the party in the period preceding the deliberations of the supreme forum of Polish communists many party organizations expressed their support for setting up a constitutional tribunal and for adopting appropriate legislative initiatives. In the speeches and postulates of working people, in particular of party members from communities of the large industrial working class, there was the profound party and civic concern for the good name of our Marxist-Leninist party to be restored and for it to be respected in our society, and in the whole socialist community and in the international communist movement.

Combined with this concern were resolute voices demanding that people's justice be meted out against those who had stained the PZPR standard, who by their unworthy conduct had jeopardized the interests of the people's state, and who had made the population suffer by denigrating the fruits of its selfless labor.

In his 13 December speech to citizens of the Polish People's Republic Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski stated: We will consistently purge Polish life of evil irrespective of where it originates. The decision of the Military Council of National Salvation to apply to the Sejm with a proposal that a state tribunal be set up constitutes a realization of this statement.

PZPR LEADERS, MEETINGS VIEW PRESENT ROLE

Barcikowski on PZPR's Role

LD310756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 31 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] A very difficult year is drawing to a close, and another difficult year is beginning. What is the party's place in this year, under conditions of martial law? In reply to this question put to Kazimierz Barcikowski by TRYBUNA LUDU, the Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary says: The place of the party is the same as always: among the people. The People's Army has saved the country and the state from a disaster. It is performing with full rights its mission with regard to the nation. Martial law, however, does not create any political gap. No one can fulfill the mission of the party for the party.

Kazimierz Barcikowski goes on to say: The party ought to set an example of activeness. It is precisely today that we are proving ourselves in the most direct way as a workers' party, that is, as a party that exists in workforces, understands their needs, and makes every effort to solve these needs. We are also proving ourselves as a party that has been the initiator of national accord wherever people need a practically displayed civic attitude.

And one more statement from the interview entitled "There Is No Letup in the Struggle." Nothing from the decisions of the ninth party congress, from the will of the party which convened the congress, has been suspended.

Party Meetings on Martial Law

LD302248 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Meetings and conferences of party activists are being held to determine the concrete directions of action for today and for the immediate future. The members of the Military Council of National Salvation taking part in the meetings are explaining the reasons why the martial law was proclaimed.

The conference of party and economic activists in Tarnow was attended by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Voivodship committee, and Lt Gen Tadeusz Pelczewski, commissar [komisarz] of the Military Council of National Salvation. The meeting recognized that the main duty is to provide an honest explanation of the causes of the existing situation and the return to the Leninist norms in party life.

During the meeting of activists from the Krakow Lenin metallurgical combine Jan Wolek from the works rail transport department, recognized, for instance, that the main directions for party work are to strive for calm, peace and order and to contribute to the further democratization of life in the country.

Party tasks were also discussed at the plenary meetings of the Kalisz and Plock PZPR Voivodship Committees. Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski was present in Plock.

The halting of trends directed against the authorities, our alliances and relations with the socialist countries -- it was said at the meeting -- constitutes an urgent necessity. The introduction of martial law has been received with full understanding by the party activists and the broad circles of members. The plenum also discussed the consistent purging from party ranks of unstable and weak elements.

At the plenary meeting in Kalisz the speakers said that a definite turning point has occurred in the life of the community. Working men and their families are assured of the calm and sense of security which are needed so much.

A meeting took place in Katowice with mining party activists who are members of the party Central Committee and who represented the voivodship's mining enterprises as delegates at the ninth extraordinary congress, and representatives of the Military Council of National Salvation and the Katowice Voivodship authorities. It was attended by Central Committee Politburo member Jerzy Romanik, Lt Gen Longin Lozowicki, Mining Minister Lt Gen Czeslaw Piotrkowski and Katowice Voivoda Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski. They discussed the organization of party organizations in mines and the atmosphere prevailing among the workforces. The speakers stressed that after the first difficult days, work in the mining industry has returned to normal, coal extraction is increasing and the overwhelming majority of workforces understand the motives and the necessity for the proclamation of martial law.

Katowice Voivoda Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski met a group of members of the PZPR Central Committee from the Katowice Voivodship. The meeting was attended by Politburo members Zbigniew Messner and Jerzy Romanik. General Paszkowski said that with the normalization of the situation in the "Piast" colliery, calm prevails in Katowice Voivodship. Now we will move toward resolving the various problems related to life in the region. With the army's support there is a chance to step up labor discipline, secure a peaceful life for citizens and remove misfits from their posts. The whole system of control activities is now being organized.

Party Aktiv on Media's Tasks

LD301950 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] At the PZPR committee for Warsaw-Zoliborz District today, a meeting was held of the party aktiv of the district and the Radio and Television Committee.

There was discussion of the tasks which these two media are to fulfill, in the state of martial law, as regards passing on objective and credible information. The previous programs broadcast in the recent period were assessed.

During the meeting, many concrete proposals were put forward regarding the content and form of the programs society is expecting. There was discussion of production and party problems and of joint activities in implementing the tasks set by the Military Council of National Salvation. The meeting also marked the beginning of party cooperation of basic party organizations of radio and television with plant organizations of the district.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS DISMISSALS OF OFFICIALS

AU301157 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-27 Dec 81 p 7

[Text] PAP -- On the military commissar's motion, Leon Bartkowiak, director of the Personnel Section in the Radom state motor transport, Radom Voivodship, has been dismissed for incompetence in performing his duty under the conditions of martial law.

The minister of metallurgy and engineering industry has dismissed the director of the ceramic condensers plant in Kozienice, Jerzy Czerwinski.

The president of Krakow has dismissed the director of the Wieckowice state welfare house, Stanislaw Libucha, for inefficiency and inaccuracy in running the establishment. He has also suspended from duty the chairman of the establishment. He has also suspended from duty the chairman of the voivodship association of agricultural production cooperatives in Krakow, Maciej Kraszkiewicz, for violating basic duties, lack of coordination in the activity of units subordinated to him, and permitting mismanagement of them.

The minister of forestry and timber industry has dismissed Jerzy Mocarski from the office of the director of the Kielce paper goods factories for failure to accomplish at the factories subordinated to him tasks arising from martial law, and Eugeniusz Folda, director of the large timber structural parts plant in Cierpice, for inefficiency in running the plant.

Reasons for Dismissals Explained

AU301231 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-27 Dec 81 p 7

[PAP attributed article: "The Press Bureau Comments: Tasks and Needs Are the Yardstick" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] PAP -- THE NAMES OF PERSONS DISMISSED FROM THEIR POSTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED. IN THE FIRST WEEK UNDER MARTIAL LAW, 4 VOIVODAS, 3 VICE VOIVODAS AND 77 CITY PRESIDENTS, MAYORS AND COMMUNE CHIEFS WERE DISMISSED.

Personnel changes were carried out in 29 out of the 49 existing voivodships. In that time, those changes affected 77 out of the 2,353 existing chiefs of basic-level adminisration. Thus, although the personnel changes still have not been completed, their quantitative scope does not substantiate the rumors that there is a purge in administration. Such opinions are erroneous.

The dismissals have also affected some economic leaders, factory directors, cooperative society chairmen and communications service leaders. Thus far it has only been an insignificant fraction of the total number of institution chiefs of this kind. In this way, the personnel changes are to be viewed in the proper quantitative scale.

REASONS FOR DISMISSALS, GIVEN IN THE REPORTS PUBLISHED ON THIS TOPIC, HAVE PERFORCE BEEN VAGUE TO PRESENT THEM ACCURATELY, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO DISCUSS EVERY CASE IN DETAIL, AND THIS IS IMPOSSIBLE. THOSE REASONS ARE SO DIFFERENT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO REDUCE THEM TO A COMMON DENOMINATOR. AT MOST THEY CAN BE GROUPED:

About 20 percent of the changes that took place last week were caused by retirements, mostly premature, on the strength of the July Council of Ministers decree. The motives for retirement are various and frequently personal. On the whole, applications for retirement were filed before 13 December, and action upon them has now been simply accelerated, because, on the whole, a person set for retirement does not act with the energy required by the present moment.

In other cases, the motives of dismissals, most frequently published in the press, have been: inefficiency and dereliction of duty.

In connection with this, the question arises: WHY DID INEFFICIENT OR NEGLIGENT PEOPLE KEEP THEIR POSTS UNTIL RECENTLY?

MOST DISMISSALS OF THIS KIND HAVE RESULTED FROM REPORTS MADE BY LOCAL MILITARY OPERATIONAL GROUPS. THE MILITARY HAVE FOUND MANY OFFICIALS TO BE NEGLIGENT AND IMPRACTICAL. In direct contacts with the population, they also discovered who has lost the confidence of the local publis. After all, many administrative and economic functionaries had for a long time been working in ossified personal systems which protected them. Moreover, shaped in the efficient military system, the assessment criteria used by the WTGO [expansion unknown] are higher than the usual ones. The introduction of martial law has accelerated the process of personnel changes which would have been made anyhow. Those changes have now been condensed in time.

The next group of persons who had to give up their posts is composed of members of leading cadres who worked efficiently enough, but were unable to cope with the particular and increased requirements of martial law. They were selected in peaceful times and were accustomed to work under normal conditions.

The swift, efficient and resolute action required by the present situation clashes with their characters or capabilities.

Last but not least, among persons dismissed there are also leaders who, notwithstanding their previous efficiency, lost their leading qualities in the recent difficult months before 13 December. The new situation in which they found themselves confused them, caused their insubordination to superiors or valid regulations, and made them yield to unfounded pressures.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ALL CELLS OF PUBLIC AND ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION ARE RESOLVED TO BASE THEIR ACTIVITY ON THE PRESENT TESTED, EFFICIENT AND SELFLESS LEADING CADRES.

However, they are equally resolved to get rid of sluggish and inefficient workers lacking complete public confidence. Martial law presents particular requirements to all, and especially to leading cadres. It is more strict in assessing acts, attitudes and abilities. The efficient functioning of the economy and administration is a matter of the highest importance. Thus personnel policy must use this goal as its only guidance.

Every period confronts cadres in charge of important institutions with somewhat different requirements. In the times in which we now live, even the best intentions, good will, an appropriate education or services are insufficient to give one the right to hold an office. THUS THE VERIFICATION OF CADRES, MEASURES BY THE YARDSTICK OF PRESENT TASKS AND NEEDS ARISING FROM MARTIAL LAW AND FROM THE DIFFERENT ECONOMIC SITUATION, IS AND WILL BE INDISPENSABLE.

ANTICORRUPTION DRIVE REPORTS PROCEEDINGS

Communique on Investigations

LD302006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Here is a communique on the results of the investigations of cases of abuse of position for material gain:

1. In 1980-81 numerous reports were submitted to prosecutors from various social circles -- work forces, social and union organizations and also private citizens. The reports accused numerous persons performing responsible state and party functions of abusing their position for personal material gains. The most common accusation concerned the use of social property for constructing villas and vacation houses and for fitting out living quarters above the usual standard, accepting expensive gifts, and irregularities in the distribution of tokens entitling the purchase of passenger cars.

As a rule the reports were not supported by the necessary evidence, hence they demanded detailed examination. On examination, some appeared to be untrue and even tendentious -- these were mostly anonymous reports. Most proved to be true, and the persons who exposed the misdeeds were guided by social interest and a desire to eliminate from public life damaging and negative phenomena.

Numerous inspections had been carried out in order to establish that the accusations are correct. Apart from the investigations to establish the true character of earlier accusations, the Supreme Control Chamber, regional boards of state revenue and financial control and other state control bodies have also made wholesale investigations aimed at disclosing abuses connected with the use of leading posts in the organs of state and economic administration for personal advantage.

Based on the results of the control and on other materials, the prosecutor's offices began penal proceedings. The investigative procedure in those cases demanded an exceptional amount of work in assembling and often in reproducing extensive financial and building documentation. The complicated character of many cases, and also the existing legal procedure, required comprehensive expert reports which in turn contributed to the drawn-out nature of the proceedings.

2. The results achieved so far are as follows: 263 persons have been charged with offenses. Temporary arrest has been applied in respect of 101 persons. Investigations have been completed in respect of 181 persons. Indictments have been submitted to the courts against 154 persons. Preliminary proceedings against 27 persons have been discontinued. The remaining cases are in the final stage of proceedings and it is expected that these will be completed in January or February next year. The cases which are currently being completed include the investigations against PZPR Central Committee former First Secretary Edward Gierek and former deputy premiers Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk, Jan Szydlak and Franciszek Kaim.

3. Trials are in progress against 27 persons, as has already been reported by the press. The public will be informed about the completion of proceedings and their results.

As a footnote to the communique it is worth adding that the PZPR at the ninth congress declared resolute war on all abuses previously taking place in our country. All guilty persons must, and will be called to account.

513 Fined for Speculation

LD302135 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Summary] The fight against speculation continues. From 17 to 21 December the Citizens Militia started 288 preliminary proceedings and 257 cases were submitted to misdemeanor courts. In this period 513 people were fined a total amount of Z304,000. Goods which were used in black-market profiteering valued at over Z22 million were confiscated.

Szczecin Speculators Charged

LD301622 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Order is returning to Szczecin city and the voivodship. As announced, measures have been taken against people who wish to profit from speculation and illegal business. Initial indictments have been submitted to the court against those guilty of violating the decree on martial law in Szczecin Voivodship. There are lines in front of some gasoline stations. Taxi drivers have applied for gasoline allocation in accordance with the decisions of the economic commissioner of the Council of Ministers.

SENTENCING, RELEASE OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS NOTED

Solidarity Reported 'Smashed'

LD301810 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1729 GMT 30 Dec 81

[By David Healy, PA political staff]

[Text] The Polish free trade union Solidarity has been smashed as a national organisation by the military takeover and there is little prospect of any major armed resistance, reports reaching the West from Poland tonight say.

The reports give a graphic and up-to-date account of life in Poland under martial law.

They say that the church in Poland claims the military authorities appear divided over the future of Solidarity and what to do with its leader Lech Walesa.

Up until Christmas the authorities had been considering allowing him to meet with the full praesidium of Solidarity.

He had repeatedly said he could not go on television and make any statement about martial law without first discussing it with Solidarity's other leaders.

But the church sources say that since Christmas the authorities have stopped talking of a meeting, and the reports say this clearly reflects their dilemma -- whether to risk allowing the union to regroup in its original form or to smash the movement once and for all.

The church, the reports say, has made no secret of its demands that Solidarity should be brought back. The demand was also forcibly put by Pope John Paul in a personal letter to the Polish military leader Gen Jaruzelski.

A network for aid and information for internees has been organised at St Martin's Church in the old city of Warsaw, where food parcels and other supplies are being sent.

The Catholic Church in Poland has now been provided with a list of 49 places of internment, and priests are being allowed in to most of them to say mass and hear confessions.

A report which emerged just before 4 pm today said the church had been supplied with a list of 5,000 internees, but there were still some serious doubts about the exact figure. The authorities have said there were about 400 internees in the Warsaw area, but those compiling the lists said the figure was closer to 1,000.

Talks with government officials, however, produce differing official estimates of those interned and arrested. The reports said this could reflect official confusion about the real situation in the country or a deliberate desire to hamper aid to the victims.

All universities were closed, but there were signs that underground academic life was stirring. A number of advanced history students in Warsaw had begun receiving lectures in secret. Teachers said they believed universities would reopen towards the end of January, but without first-year students. Reports said that some of them had already been drafted for military service.

A skeleton Solidarity staff continued to print special bulletins but they admitted information was often sketchy and delayed.

The bulletins have warned people to beware of infiltration by the security services. They said many bus and taxi drivers had been replaced by police agents.

The latest report said Polish observers discounted the possibility of massive armed resistance in the future and said it was unlikely that any national union structure had survived. Solidarity couriers, however, have managed to travel long distances, and have reported little work in the main industrial centres. Many workers were said to be on a go-slow and others were said to be idle owing to a shortage of raw materials.

A separate report reaching the West this afternoon said the military authorities had relaxed the restrictions on travel, but it was not clear from the report whether this relaxation applied only to foreign diplomats or to the population generally.

The report said telex had been reconnected between Warsaw and principal towns in Poland but all messages had to be routed to central post offices and had to be in Polish. It said that according to reports reaching Warsaw from Radom one factory there was on strike and there was a heavy military presence in the town. The British ambassador to Poland, Mr Kenneth James, who suffered a heart attack a week before the military takeover and who has been in intensive care in hospital in Warsaw since then, was today flown home.

More Strike Organizers Jailed

LD301948 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The prosecutors in the military and civil prosecution offices are implementing further preventive measures designed to explain the regulations of the binding law so as to do away with vagueness emerging from the still prequent failure to understand new legal regulations. The preventive measures also concentrate on the protection of the market, protection of public property, the battle against squandering, the state of work discipline and social parasitism.

In the past 24 hours further summary proceedings have been started. In military prosecutors' offices the following have been temporarily arrested: Jan Boczek, chairman of the Solidarity plant committee in the manifest Lipcowy hard coal mine, charged with the continuation of union activity and organizing and directing the strike in that mine between 13 and 15 December of this year; and Zenon Komenda, charged with refusal to carry out the order to take up substitute work in the state motor transport in Miechow and with the deliberate abandonment of work.

Further instances of illegal possession of arms have also been reported. In this connection two persons have been arrested. Further trials under summary proceedings at military and civil courts have been held. The naval court has sentenced Boguslaw Karski, member of the NSZZ Solidarity to 3 years in prison and loss of public rights for 2 years, after finding him guilty urging soldiers discharging defense duties to abaondon arms, disobey their superiors and join a strike.

The voivodship court in Katowice has sentenced Zdzislaw Gulinsk -- for organizing a strike and for making it impossible for other employees to work in the transport base of the general construction enterprise in Bytom -- to 3 years in prison and loss of public rights for 2 years. The voivodship court in Lodz has sentenced Janusz Tenerowicz, after finding him guilty of a particularly daring street theft, to 4 years in prison, fine of Z10,000 and 3 years loss of public rights.

Solidarity Leaders Jailed in Lodz

LD302200 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The voivodship court in Lodz has passed a sentence in the case of Andrzej Slowik and Jerzy Kropiwnicki. The court found them guilty of the following:

Andrzej Slowik as the chairman and Jerzy Kropiwnicki as the deputy chairman of the Solidarity regional board of Lodz region, on 13 December in Lodz, organized and carried out a protest action at the headquarters of the regional board, calling for the formation of plant strike committees and for undertaking of a general strike.

The court sentenced them, in summary procedings, to 4 and 1/2 years imprisonment each, and apart from that passed extra penalties of deprivation of civic rights for the period of 4 years each.

More Sentenced

LD310010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice reports that since the day that martial law was introduced throughout the country 141 cases against 261 persons have been filed in civilian courts with proposals that they be examined under summary procedure. These cases encompass both crimes connected with violating the regulations of the martial law decree and also common criminal crimes. In accordance with the regulations of summary procedure these cases are examined speedily and the sentences given in respect of them are considerably more severe.

In cases which refer to the violation of penal regulations of the martial law decree the following verdicts have been reached:

The Pila voivodship court has sentenced (Roman Bukowski) to 3 years and 6 months deprivation of freedom and to the deprivation of public rights for a period of 3 years for publicly urging people to commit crimes by displaying on the premises of the furniture factory in (Morgonin) leaflets entitled "Death to the Reds."

The Czestochowa voivodship court has sentenced Aleksander Przygodzinski to 3 years deprivation of freedom and has pronounced that he has been deprived of public rights for a period of 3 years for continuing trade union activities as a member of the national commission of NSZZ Solidarity despite the existing ban and for urging people to strike.

19 Solidarity Internees Released

LD302307 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[From the regional press review]

[Excerpts] We have a report from Gazeta Pomorska that a decision on internment has been waived. According to the commander of the Slupsk Voivodship Militia headquarters Col Stnislaw (Lukasiak), on the 23rd, 24th and 28th of this month he decided to waive a decision on the internment of 19 activists of NSZZ Solidarity. This decision was made possible following the high decree of social discipline in Slupsk Voivodship in the period of martial law.

The expectations, postulates and pleas of the community concerning some of the interned persons, addressed to the authorities by the families, professional circles and work enterprises, have been fulfilled.

FORMER SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST CONDEMNS 'ADVENTURERS'

LD310012 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Now we will cite yet another statement by a former Solidarity activist. The author of the statement is Tadeusz Lewandowski, for many years an employee of the Gen Karol Swierdzewski precision tools factory in Warsaw.

Tadeusz Lewandowski writes in part: From the very outset I considered that the union was a useful institution. But as time passed and we observed the Solidarity leaders, I and my colleagues feared more and more whether the direction taken by Solidarity was leading to the goal which we envisaged when the union activities commenced.

The last few weeks up to 13 December and above all the Radom resolutions and Walesa's statements confirmed to us our view that some union activists, guided by advisers from the former KSS-KOR [Social Self Defense Committee] -- mainly Geremek, Kuron, Michnik, Blumszatajn and others, were nothing but political adventurers striving for to take over power, skilfully exploiting the patriotic and social aspirations of the working class and the entire community. We clearly noticed these phenomena in the work of the union authorities of the Mazowsze region. Representatives of large enterprises such as the "Zwar", "Nowotko", the Warsaw steelworks, the "Rawar", the "Kasprzak", and the "Swierczewski" plants did not have a decisive influence on the election of the regional executive. The real bosses of this regional union were the above-mentioned advisers and it was mainly under their influence that regional chairman Zbigniew Bujak was acting.

The Presidium consisted of Onyszkiewicz, Romaszewski, Wujec and Rys-Kulerski who were activists of the former KSS-KOR who controlled and virtually worked out the strategy of the union's activity.

There were only 14 workers in the regional executive, which comprised 62 persons, while in the Presidium there were only 2 workers. I consider, Tadeusz Lewandowski writes in conclusion, that the firm measures adopted by the government have halted activities which would have led to bloodshed. I also consider that the trade unions including Solidarity, should be reactivated, on condition that in its activity it is guided by principles contained in the statute and it firmly rejects the advisers who proved to be political adventurers.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI PORTRAYS SOLIDARITY 'CHIEFTAIN'

AU291652 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Dec 81 p 3

[Colonel W. Zielinski commentary: "The Chieftain" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] IN THE PERIOD OF FIGHTING FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEOPLE'S RULE, MANY MEMBERS OF THE POLISH WORKERS OR POLISH SOCIALIST PARTIES WERE MURDERED BY THE GANG OF THE FASCIST UNDERGROUND. BEFORE BEING MURDERED, MANY OF THEM HAD BEEN MERCILESSLY TORTURED, AND IF THE PARTY CARD WAS FOUND ON THE VICTIM, HE OR SHE WAS FORCED TO SWALLOW IT.

One should think that those times had passed forever. However, it turned out that some prominent Solidarity figures, including Andrzej Rozplochowski, 31-year-old deputy chairman of the Strike Committee at the Katowice metallurgical plant and then chairman of the Solidarity Interfactory Founding Committee in Katowice Voivodship, advocated the same methods in 1981. The following is a verbatim pronouncement of his, worthy of a fascist chieftain belonging to the NSZ [National Armed Forces] in the forties, heard by workers of the Katowice heavy lathes plant. Answering a question, he said: AT THE KATOWICE METALLURGICAL PLANT, TWO BUCKETS HAVE GONE AROUND: ONE FOR PARTY CARDS AND THE OTHER FOR TRADE UNION CARDS. WHOEVER FAILS TO GET RID OF HIS PARTY CARD SHOULD PROVIDE HIMSELF WITH SALT AND PEPPER TO SEASON THE CARD BEFORE SWALLOWING IT. It is worth adding that he did not conceal his intention to physically annihilate representatives of the authorities, as well as Citizens' Militia and security service functionaries.

The ruthless methods of intimidation and blackmail, which could hardly be anything but bandit-like, were applied by him to his colleagues in Solidarity. Those were precisely the methods he used to remove the first chairman of the Strke Committee at the Katowice metallurgical plant, M. Fabre.

Likewise, he resorted to dirty tricks when he lost to L. Waliszewski for the office of regional board chairman on 28 July 1981. He then organized a propaganda campaign to discredit L. Waliszewski. He used both the bulletin of the Katowice Interfactory Founding Committee, Wiadomoscki Katowickie, and Telex messages and telephone calls for that purpose. And the reason he lost was that there were reasons to suspect him of misusing the funds of the Interfactory Founding Committee. Those misuses were revealed at the 16 April 1981 meeting of Interfactory Workers' Commissions. In addition, he was accused of the following: defective labor organization, lack of discipline and prestige among board members; failure to comply with demands established by the board and neglect in union work; and delaying the elections. No wonder that on 28 July Rozplochowski was asked: "HOW DOES HE INTEND TO BRING PROMINENT FIGURES TO ACCOUNT WHEN HE HIMSELF FAILED TO PRESENT ACCOUNTS." And he probably had something to account for, since he himself was boasting that "SOLIDARITY HAS AT ITS DISPOSAL SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN CURRENCY FUNDS WHICH WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE AS SOON AS SOLIDARITY RECOGNIZES THE GOVERNMENT IN POLAND." It is to be hoped that, when martial law is lifted, Andrzej Rozplochowski's honest Solidarity colleagues will ask him about those foreign currency funds which, after all, do not belong to him personally.

Since his hands were not too clean, the current chieftain of the Katowice metallurgical plant did his best to prove himself to be politically "clean." Here are some phrases which he eagerly set forth: "SOCIALISM IS THE MOST PERFIDIOUS SYSTEM"; "BOLSHEVISM MUST BE DISPATCHED"; "SOLIDARITY MUST HARASS THE AUTHORITIES." He tried to be super-radical at any price. For example, on the initiative of the Factory Workers' Commission at the Katowice metallurgical plant, on 31 March 1981 he issued a communique protesting against the National Commission's agreement with the government and terming the National Commission's activities "IRRESOLUTE AND CONCILIATORY." Before leaving for the National Consultative Commission session in Bydgoszcz, he instructed the leaders of the Factory Workers' Commission at the Katowice metallurgical plant to organize a strike, contrary to the advice of the Solidarity leadership.

He also came out with the motion to recall the 13 Sejm deputies from Katowice Voivodship and to hold new elections to People's Councils and to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. At the same time he said at the meeting that those were "THE FIRST 13 BIRDS TO SHOOT AT." On this occasion it is to be borne in mind that the information bulletin inspired by Rozplochowski, WOLY ZWIAZKOWIEC. Just breathed hostility and hatred at People's Poland, the party, the Soviet Union. Moreover, on each occasion he emphasized that he "WOULD NOT TALK TO THE PARTY" and was "RESOLVED TO FIGHT FOR HIS IDEAS TO THE BITTER END, AND IF NEED BE TO DIE FOR THE CAUSE." However, apparently he expected to live long, since he was taking so many pains to protect his financial affairs and earthly life.

The workers of the Katowice metallurgical plant know all those facts very well. Intimidated by the threat of being beaten up, a significant number of them were forced to participate in the strikes, which were not theirs and not in their interests.

Luckily enough, Chieftain Rozplochowski's "rule" is over.

TRYBUNA LUDU CITES SOLIDARITY 'LIQUIDATION' PLANS

AU291252 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] PAP -- During the searches carried out premises belonging to Solidarity branches and factory committees in Bochnia, Debica and Tarnow, a PAP correspondent reports, documents with antisocialist, antiparty and antigovernment content were found.

They revealed the union's extra-statutory, political activity in Tarnow Voivodship. A part of those documents are connected with the activity of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland]. The documents seized included copies of the ideological declaration of the KPN. The KPN program, statutes, activity instructions and propaganda pamphlets, KPN membership cards, as well as materials concerning the activity of the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience. Also, a number of documents issued by the Tarnow Solidarity cell were found.

The contents of the letter addressed on 6 December 1981 by the Solidarity Factory Commission at the Ponar engineering plant in Tarnow to all Poles must arouse particular indignation. In the letter, signed by the fictious name "Wiedynin," we read in particular: "In the next clash with the communists, I call on all Solidarity cells in Poland to immediately set about the liquidation, no matter by what means, of all judges, prosecutors, party secretaries and security service functionaries, irrespective of sex, along with their families...."

TRYBUNA LUDU NOTES SOLIDARITY LINKS WITH AFL-CIO

AU310827 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 81 p 4

[T.P. commentary: "What Has Been Revealed in 'Mazowsze'?: for Foreign Money" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] HOW MANY TIMES DID SOLIDARITY LEADERS GIVE ASSURANCES THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH ANY POLITICAL CENTERS ABROAD. MEANWHILE, THE DOCUMENTS FOUND RECENTLY IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MAZOWSZE REGION SOLIDARITY BOARD CLEARLY CONTRADICT THOSE ASSURANCES.

Let us recall: On 24 September, a Solidarity Press and Information Bureau (BPI) opened on Park Avenue South in New York with Zygmunt Przetakiewicz as its chief. He arrived in the United States on a tourist passport, without the consent of the Polish authorities to conduct public propaganda acitivites, particularly in view of the fact that Przetakiewicz emphasized that the Solidarity establishment would pursue an "independent foreign policy." In particular, the bureau intended to convey Solidarity information to the Americans, to organize conferences and seminars, to publish and so forth.

Soon it turned out -- and Przetakiewicz himself confirmed this -- that THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION CENTER, AFL-CIO, WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE SOLIDARITY PRESS AND INFORMATION BUREAU AND SUPPLIED IT WITH FACILITIES AND EXPENSES. IT HAS BEEN KNOWN FOR A LONG TIME THAT MANY FIGURES OF THAT AMERICAN TRADE UNION CENTER WERE BITTER ADVERSARIES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND SPECIALIZED IN VARIOUS ANTICOMMUNIST MOVES. And it was precisely that organization whom Przetakiewicz -- so willingly emphasizing the "self-governing" nature and "independence" of the Solidarity authorities -- chose as a sponsor and a Meacenas. Truly enough, he used to say that he did not have official powers from Solidarity, but at the same time referred to the opinion of "certain" union figures.

Przetakiewicz's activity in the United States met with Lech Walesa's objections. At the first national Solidarity congress in Gdansk Walesa spoke about the "arbitrariness" of some union figures and asked: Who and on what grounds establishes Solidarity information bureaus in the United States?

While reading Przetakiewicz's New York letters, found in the headquarters of the Mazowsze region board, one can unequivocally see the real AGENCY-LIKE NATURE OF THE SOLIDARITY PRESS AND INFORMATION BUREAU. The letters were addressed to JANUSZ ONYSZKIEWICZ AND ZBIGNIEW BUJAK, who are prominent union leaders. The former was the press spokesman of Mozowsze and then of the National Commission, and the latter was Maszowsze region chairman and Presidium member of the National Commission.

And both were under the strong influence of such, in particular, KOR [Workers Defense Committee] figures as J. Kuron and A. Michnik, and -- as the letters show -- FROM THE BEGINNING WERE PERFECTLY AWARE OF THE SPECIAL NATURE OF PRZETAKIEWICZ'S MISSION.

The letters show that Andrzej Celinski, Presidium secretary of the Solidarity National Commission, arrived in New York on 12 October and conveyed to Przetakiewicz the suggestion of Walesa to close the Press and Information Bureau. Przetakiewicz received the message with obvious dislike. In the 14 October letter to Bujak he made the latter clearly see that -- as has been said -- he did not intend to "pack up and leave."

At the same time he suggested defending the concept that the "bureau was independent of Solidarity," thus to facilitate maneuvering for its spokesmen. BUT THAT "INDEPENDENCE OF SOLIDARITY" WAS ACTUALLY FICTION. PRZETAKIEWICZ ADMITTED THAT THE BUREAU "MET WITH THE UNION'S ACCEPTANCE," A FACT MANIFESTED IN PARTICULAR IN THE FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM SOLIDARITY SERVICES, IN ACCEPTING AND ORDERING INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE AMERICAN PRESS, TRADE UNIONS AND SO FORTH, IN DECISIONS ADOPTED BY SOLIDARITY ON FUNDS COLLECTED FOR IT, AND IN THE "TREATMENT OF THE BUREAU AS AN INFORMATION CENTER ON TECHNICAL MATTERS CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH TRADE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES."

In the 14 October conversation, also attended by (Tom Khan) from the AFL-CIO, Celinski said that "it was advisable to withdraw from the bureau slowly and noiselessly." He also expressed the displeasure that the bureau's formation "under the AFL-CIO and its maintenance confirmed the too close contacts" between the two unions and thus "facilitated life" for the critics of such cooperation...

Przetakiewicz wrote that if the New York bureau ceased to exist, he would not go back home, although he did "not intend to make himself politically active as an emigrant," because that would "miss the point of my trip to the United States." That point was obvious: BEHIND THE BUREAU SCREEN AND FOR AFL-CIO MONEY, HE INTENDED TO SERVE THE INTERESTS CONTRADICTING THE MOST VITAL STATE AND NATIONAL INTERESTS OF POLISH SOCIETY.

He was not alone, but had the backing of an active group of ardent oppositionists who applied the slogan "the end justifies the means" in the daily practice of fighting Poland, socialism and the party.

MEDIA CRITICIZES INDEPENDENT UNION OF STUDENTS

NZS Activities Reported

LD302244 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

["Editorial Commentary"]

[Text] At the beginning of the 1980-81 academic year there began to come into being -- first in Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and then in other academic communities -- the first college organizations of the Independent Union of Students [NZS]. The new student organization, which was supposed to be independent and self-governing, seemed to be authentic. Its action program and aims suggested that they had been drawn up by students themselves. However, the first spectacular operations aimed at getting new members and at gaining confidence in the community copied the bad practises of the political forces gaining control over Solidarity.

The first operation of this kind was the December strike by students of Warsaw University and Poznan University organized under the slogan of "Struggle for the Registration of the Union." The strike was organized at a time when the ministry had already expressed agreement to the registration. The strike was supposed to convince students that it was thanks to the protest that the appropriate decree of the minister had been issued.

The next strike, in Lodz this time, was organized under the slogan of "Struggle for the Autonomy and Self-Management of Colleges." This was also organized at a time when the issues of self-management had already been resolved by the ministry in the decisive matter of elections. New postulates of a general political nature relating to political prisoners, to the teaching of political-social subjects, to foreign language and military training and to the military service of students appeared in the Lodz strike. This package of demands revealed unambiguously the change in the nature and aims of the organization.

The presence of advisers from outside the academic community during talks and strike actions pointed unambiguously to the fact that this seemingly spontaneous protest action of the students and the main slogans and aims of this action had been formulated outside the academic community and had been skillfully passed on.

The first NZS congress held in Krakow between 3 and 6 April of this year shattered all illusions as to the nature of the union. The contents of adopted resolutions pointed clearly to the fact that contrary to the original declarations about the apolitical nature of the NZS it was becoming a political students' organization with antisocialist aims. For instance, the congress adopted a resolution making it incumbent on all members to take part in a national protest action in support of imprisoned KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] members. An appeal was made that a national general strike should be mounted and that NZS members should subordinate themselves to decisions of regional boards of Solidarity. Being unable to prove that it had scored any achievements in union activity the NZS mounted another spectacular operation against the backdrop of the conflict at the Radom Engineering School and against the backdrop of the statute on higher education, hoping to present itself this time round in opinion as the only force waging a campaign for the new status of colleges. Democratic slogans were used without restriction whereas in practice only antidemocratic methods of activity were applied.

The growing influence of KOR [Workers Defense Committee] and of so-called radical Solidarity circles was reflected in the appeal on behalf of those killed which passed off almost unnoticed by public opinion. This appeal was promulgated on behalf of the NZS on the 63d anniversary of the regaining of independence at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. This appeal is a classic example of the new verbal cover for the old program of the Polish reaction -- a program which resurrects the notorious slogan of "two enemies of Poland" and in particular of the policy of two enemies which was consistently rehabilitated and which was begun in the interwar period and which still persecutes us with its relapses and consequences to this very day. Tribute was paid in this appeal to, among others, the national armed forces which, toward the end of the war, openly attached themselves to the aggressor. Tribute was paid to the armed underground which operated during the first few years of People's Poland at whose hands more than 20,000 members of the PPR [Polish Workers' Party], the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and various formations of the militia and the Polish People's Army were killed.

The ideological and political evolution of the NZS leaders was also reflected in the activities of the union in the international arena. During the conference of student unions in Paris, which took place from 4 to 8 March of this year, the NZS delegation was the initiator of creating a new student international which was supposed to consist of several dozen or so organizations which were not members of the international union of students with its headquarters in Prague. The NZS delegation proposed that the founding congress of the student international, bringing together mainly Trotskyite and rightwing groups, should be held in Warsaw. This whole student masquerade was to take place under the joint slogan of anticommunism.

Already under martial law conditions preparations were being conducted for a sit-in strike at Warsaw Polytechnic, for continuing the strikes in Wroclaw and Krakow, and sit-in strikes were initiated in halls of residence in Lublin.

In conclusion, it is worth adducing the fact that in the draft ideological declaration of the union, which was supposed to be adopted by the second NZS congress, there is a passage which says that the congress was supposed to forbid all organizations of the union to conduct a dialogue with the PZPR or with organizations which accept the program of the party. Indeed, there will now not be any dialogue, nor can there be.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI View

LD301230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 30 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI devotes one of its articles to the politicking ambitions of the Independent Union of Students [NZS]. The paper cites examples of the destructive and anticommunist trends prevailing among the activists of the NZS National Coordinating Commission.

Summing up the year's activity by NZS, the paper states that the lack of concrete organizational results as well as the unsatisfactory influx of new candidates have created a drop in the popularity of the NZS among students. As a result of this popularity drop, NZS decided to build prestige based on the Radom conflict by organizing national strike action at higher educational establishments. In the same period, the paper continues, a considerable divergence of views occurred between the NZS National Coordinating Commission and the NZS regional branches. During preparations for the second NZS congress, strenuous efforts were made to prepare an ideological declaration with particular stress on actions of a political nature, and expressing strong disapproval of PZPR policy while explicitly condemning Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is most significant that the NZS congress was to prohibit all branches of the organization from conducting a dialogue with the PZPR and with organizations which have accepted the PZPR's program states the paper in conclusion.

PRICE LISTS APPROVED FOR RAW MATERIALS

LD301952 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] On 1 January 1982, a comprehensive reform of supply prices for raw materials and other means of production, and of tariffs for energy and freightage, will be introduced. The State Price Commission announces that detailed price lists have already been approved for all these articles. The distribution of these price lists, which have a general character, will be carried on, as before, by printers in Bydgoszcz, Gdynia and Krakow, and by bookshops and the book houses in Warsaw.

Price lists of an internal character are obtainable in the appropriate ministries and amalgamations. Tariffs for freightage are distributed by publishers' warehouses of the district state railroads directorates, (?freight) departments of state motor transport, and shipping. Information about the new price lists and [word indistinct] has already been passed on by the State Price Commission to ministries and amalgamations. The detailed principles for applying the new price lists contained in the State Price Commission communique will be printed in the press.

AGRICULTURE, FOOD VOIVODAS HOLD WARSAW CONFERENCE

LD301342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] A conference of deputy voivodas who deal with agriculture and food economy is being held in Warsaw today, against the background of this year's preliminary results, the most important agricultural tasks next year will be discussed, particularly concerning the first few months.

KOWALCZYK ATTENDS MEETING ON SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY

LD302128 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- Problems of small-scale industry and crafts connected both with the imposition of martial law and the introduction of economic reform were discussed today at a meeting attended by Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk and managers of cooperative unions, small-scale businesses and related economic organizations.

It was stated by the discussants that cooperatives are working normally after the imposition of martial law. There have been problems with artisan workshops who find it difficult to dispatch their output both to home and foreign customers.

One important issue is the proper share of small-scale businesses in production material supplies, it was stated at the meeting. Materials should be allocated to those firms which can use them most efficiently, and not to the biggest ones. A similar principle should be applied with respect to foreign exchanger funds. It was resolved that a special team in charge of current material supplies will be formed.

PARTY FUNCTIONS IN MINING INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

LD301924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Following many months of unrest, today is the second day in Katowice Voivodship when no strikes or protest actions have been reported. The pace of work is slowly returning to normal.

A meeting of party activists in the mining industry took place today in Katowice. Lt Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, member of the Military Council of National Salvation and minister of mining and power industry; Lt Gen Longin Lozowicki, member of the Military Council of National Salvation; Lt Gen Roman Paszkowski, Katowice Voivoda; and Jerzy Romanik, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and miner from Siemianowice coalmine, were present.

At the meeting there was an exchange of experiences concerning the functions of the party organizations in the mining industry during the untypical time of martial law. It was stressed that the militarization of the mines is making a crucial contribution to the improvement in discipline and productivity. Taking the floor, minister Czeslaw Piotrowski answered a number of questions on the country's economic, political and social situation and on the miners' social and welfare conditions. The minister conveyed new year greetings to them.

PROBLEMS OF CURRENT LABOR RELATIONS CONSIDERED

LD302136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] A 2-day conference held at the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Welfare and attended by directors of voivodship employment departments and social welfare sections ended today. It discussed the objectives of these bodies during the martial law period and how to solve problems related to the policy of employment which these organs may encounter during the first months of the coming year.

Those present at the conference were acquainted with government decisions pertaining in particular to labor relations in militarized and other establishments and with workers' rights and duties as well as the duration and schedule of working time in 1982.

The basic precepts for the implementation of the employment policy in the new conditions by which enterprises will operate next year were also discussed, as were the regulations related to the setting up and management of the vocational activation fund.

Special attention was drawn to the duties of managers of work establishments in connection with the taking over of social work which had been carried out by trade unions.

CURFEW TO BE LIFTED FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE

LD301628 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] In view of the continually improving social discipline as manifest in the ever more rigid observance of the martial law regulations, and in order to facilitate the traditional gatherings marking the forthcoming new year, the minister of internal affairs has ordered that the curfew be lifted on the night of 31 December and 1 January 1982 throughout the country.

COAL EXTRACTION FIGURES UNDER MARTIAL LAW CITED

29 Dec Results

LD301208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Coal extraction is increasing. Miners extracted over 595,000 tons of coal on 29 December. This is the highest 24-hour extraction level obtained since the introduction of martial law.

Both the Tychy collieries -- Ziemowit and Piast -- are also gradually returning to a normal extraction rhythm. All the extraction detachments are already working there, although there are still many faulty machines, which after the prolonged standstill require a thorough checking; hence the still incomplete efficiency of the miners' effort.

On 29 December miners at the Ziemowit colliery extracted over 17,000 tons of coal; its daily plan amounts to 23,500 tons. Miners at the Piast colliery produced around 12,000 tons, while the daily plan is around 17,500 tons.

30 Dec Results

LD311158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Our Katowice correspondent reports that the situation has normalized further in coal mining. The extraction figures are increasing daily. Yesterday, miners extracted 598,000 tons of coal, auguring good figures for January and 1982. The work forces at the Ziemowit and Piast mines have made their contribution to those figures as well, although, after the stoppage lasting almost 2 weeks, normal extraction was not achieved there. Time is needed for this to occur. On this last day of 1981 all hard-coal mines are working normally, but they are only working on two shifts. On New Year's eve only essential services will be working in the mines.

FOOD SUPPLIES, PRODUCTION, TRANSPORTATION CITED

Meat, Potato Shortages

LD301134 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 0900 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The plan for the procurement of pigs and cattle has not been fulfilled.

By 28 December, socialized and private farming delivered to the procurement points just over 90,000 tons of meat, that is 75 percent of the month's plan.

Since the middle of December the procurement of livestock has improved. Daily, an average of over 5,000 tons is procured, but requirements are 6,000 tons.

In order to supply the population, 1.1 million tons of potatoes have been procured; of this 134,000 tons have been earmarked as winter reserves. There is a shortage of 300,000 tons in order to provide full supplies to the market, according to the calculations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy.

Therefore, procurement will be continued, especially at this time while weather conditions are allowing the transport of potatoes, without fear that they will become frozen.

Farmers Increase Deliveries

AU301351 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-27 Dec 81 p 2

[PAP report: "In Response to the Appeal by the Military Council for National Salvation, Farmers Increase Food Supplies" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE RECENT RESULTS OF FARM PRODUCE PROCUREMENTS PROVE THAT, IN RESPONSE TO THE 20 DECEMBER APPEAL BY THE MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, THE FARMERS HAVE INCREASED THE DELIVERIES OF LIVESTOCK, MILK AND OTHER PRODUCE.

Notwithstanding the difficult weather conditions and snowdrifts on the roads, milk deliveries increased almost 7 percent compared with the same period last year. Also, the procurements of livestock are increasing daily. ON MONDAY 21 DECEMBER, STOCKBREEDERS -- BOTH FROM PRIVATE AND SOCIALIZED FARMS -- FOR THE FIRST TIME DELIVERED TO THE PROCUREMENT CENTERS OF COMMUNAL COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES MORE THAN 6,000 TONS OF PORK AND BEEF. ON 22 DECEMBER LIVESTOCK PRUCUREMENTS INCREASED EVEN MORE. The number of cattle and pigs procured on that day exceeds 7,300 head.

As of the beginning of December, procurement centers have received from farmers livestock for 77,270 tons of meat. To fulfill the monthly plan, they are short of procuring about 27,000 tons of meat. The recent invigoration in meat procurements has resulted in particular from conversations held with farmers, particularly with those who still have not coped with contracts for livestock deliveries, by local operational groups of the Polish Army, as well as by agricultural services and the raw material service of the food industry. Such conversations are being practiced in all voivodships and communes all over the country.

The appeal directed by the Military Council for National Salvation to farmers, state farm workers and cooperative society employees has met with prompt response among the inhabitants of Czarna commune in Tarnow Voivodship.

The farmers of Czarna have pledged to implement all livestock delivery contracts before the end of the year. Moreover, they will deliver to procurement centers an additional 13 tons of grain and 25 tons of potatoes.

The appeal has met with a vivid response also in Bialystok Voivodship. On the initiative of the local party organization, Reduty village farmers in Orla commune have in particular jointly delivered to the procurement center 10 tons of grain.

All 21 state farm enterprises in Zielona Gora Voivodship are working rhythmically and efficiently. Stockbreeding, building and machine-operating brigades are working well.

State farm collectives in the middle Oder region are now delivering about 110,000 liters of milk and up to 100 tons of meat daily. Those deliveries have reached the 1980 level and are being performed in line with the contracts.

The conversations and the appeal by the Military Council for National Salvation have had a mobilizing effect on Skierniewice Voivodship farmers. The progress of procurements in Kocierzew and Sochaczew commune is satisfactory. Nowy Kaweczyn commune farmers have pledged to fulfill the plan for cattle and pig procurements for meat within the next 4 months. Pila Voivodship farmers are delivering daily more than 30 tons of pigs and cattle. The voivodship has been systematically overfulfilling the contract plans. A large number of pigs and cattle purchased from Pila Voivodship farmers are being transported to Silesia. However, the lack of transportation means is hampering livestock shipments to Katowice Voivodship.

As of Monday, milk and meat deliveries have significantly increased in Poznan Voivodship. In response to the appeal by the Military Council for National Salvation, private farmers have increased the deliveries of milk, pigs and cattle. In particular, Kleszczewo commune, which 7-12 December only delivered 63 pigs and 6 head of cattle, on 22 December alone as Jacek Skiba, communal agricultural service chief, told a PAP correspondent, it delivered 130 pigs and 20 head of cattle. The situation is similar in other Poznan Voivodship communes. In response to the appeal by the Military Council for National Salvation, farmers in those communes have significantly increased deliveries of livestock, milk and other farm produce.

WORK PRODUCTION, ACTIVITY REPORTEDLY NEAR NORMAL

Report From Warsaw

LD301846 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- All Warsaw factories and plants worked full steam from early morning on December 30. The city transport functioned smoothly. Thursday is the traditional celebration of the end of the year and the welcoming of the new year. This year Varsovians will celebrate only at home, amid their relatives and friends. But already today business at the hairdresser's is very lively and ladies buy evening dresses as usual for the occasion.

Railway transport across the country functioned (?normally). To ensure smooth railway services, 22.5 thousand persons were engaged removing snow from tracks and railway stations. Among them were 6.5 thousand workers of various enterprises and several hundred troops. The work of medical service throughout the country can be characterized as efficient and undisturbed. Coal extraction is increasing. On December 29 miners supplied 595,400 tonnes of coal. This is the highest daily extraction reached after the introduction of martial law in Poland.

The two collieries in Tychy, "Ziemowit" and "Piast", are gradually coming back to their normal production rhythm after a break. All the mining sectors are already operating there. However, after a long standstill machinery and installations require detailed survey. That is why the collieries have not reached their full daily capacity yet. On December 29 miners in the "Ziemowit" colliery extracted 17.1 thousand tonnes of coal (their daily plan is 23.5 thousand tonnes) and miners in the "Piast" colliery supplied about 12 thousand tonnes of coal (daily plan - nearly 17.5 thousand tonnes).

"GRYF" -- the Szczecin enterprise for deep-sea fishing and fishing services completed this year's last exchange of fishing ships crews on December 30.

Over 60 fishermen from that enterprise went by special plane to Montreal in Canada to go farther to Vancouver and sign on trawlers.

Steel, Coal in Katowice

LD301500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Work, productivity in the industrial enterprises of Katowice Voivodship is systematically increasing. Today, in view of the [words indistinct] of the coal wagons, the miners are able to send almost 460,000 tons of coal to the interior of the country. The Katowice steel plant is also being set in motion.

Gdansk Enterprises Cited

LD310016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The normal work rate has been restored in most work enterprises in Gdansk Voivodship. The ports of Gdansk and Gdynia have been increasing their cargo handling. Vessels with the cargo of cereals, phosphorite and apatite are being unloaded, and also those with citrus fruit, tea and rubber. The management board of the Port of Gdansk is seeking facilities for the full use of transloading capacity, including transit. At present Czechoslovak sugar is being loaded on two vessels, one Chinese and one Czechoslovak. In the tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot] municipal services have been working normally, and municipal transport has been operating without a hitch; factory coaches have been used as buses.

WARSAW REPORTS PLANNED COUPON, EXCHANGE SYSTEM

LD311010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] As from 1 January it will be obligatory to register coupons at shops. Voivodas and voivodship Spolem [cooperative] organizations are responsible for the efficient implementation of this operation.

It has been decided that 1 bottle of alcohol can be exchanged for 10 dekagrams of coffee, or 500 hectograms of candies. One cigarette coupon or 3 packets of cigarettes can be exchanged for 10 dekagrams of candies.

Irrespective of these substitutions, all coupon holders, starting from January, can receive 25 dekagrams of candies. The system will be same in all voivodships.

Those using plant canteens are obliged, as is known, to hand in a portion of their meat coupons. This does not apply to those who, through collective agreements, are entitled to meals. Doctors and nursing personnel who take meals while on duty are also not obliged to hand in their coupons.

SD'S KURIER POLSKI RESUMES PUBLICATION 31 DEC

Schedule Noted

LD311018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Publications of KURIER POLSKI, the daily paper of the Democratic Party, resumes, beginning today. As before, the KURIER will be published five times a week. This is the fourth central daily to resume publication following the introduction of the martial law.

SD New Year's Message

LD311346 Warsaw International Service in English 1230 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] After an almost 3-week break the daily paper of the Democratic Party, KURIER POLSKI, resumed its publication today. On its front page there is a New Year message by the party's president, Edward Kowalczyk.

It is a historical fact, he writes, that a certain era has now ended and a new one is being born in which socialism in Poland as a system of democracy will certainly be implemented more efficiently, more consistently, more rapidly and with greater justice; and we, the members of the Democratic Party, Mr Kowalczyk adds, will be able to put more fully into practice the modern principles of democracy in this economically and politically renewed socialist Polish state.

SPORTS EVENTS, COMPETITIONS TO BE RESUMED

LD310020 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Now sports news prepared by (Jerzy Przygod):

[Przygod] Several important pieces of information were today conveyed to reporters by the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports on the subject of the present situation of Polish sport and physical culture. We asked Marian Renke, chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, to give us some fundamental data on this subject.

[Renke] As television viewers will remember we appealed a few days ago to all sports organizations to continue sports training, and not to interrupt training sessions and sports activities. I can say with satisfaction today that as from 3 January we can also start up the staging of sports events on an intervoivodship and national level. As you are aware they were suspended in December. Conditions are thereby coming into being for restoring the normal rhythm of sports activities and for fans to enjoy sporting events. Several events of this type will take place in January, and at the beginning of February, league matches will be resumed. Thus, from 2 February league matches will be resumed for ice hockey; from 6 February, basketball and volleyball and handball for women; from 9 March, matches in the first league of handball for men, and afterward league footballers and water polo players will be resuming their matches successively in accordance with the plans that have been adopted. League competitions in boxing and table tennis also will be resumed in the first few days of February.

As for foreign contacts I would like to inform you that the resumption of competitions also applies to selected trips abroad by our teams and competitors to take part in international meetings. Of course, decisions here will be taken on an individual basis. We shall be guided by the importance in sports terms of every competition and by what the cost of these competitions is. We shall give priority to all those contacts which are connected with preparations for world and European championships and also to participation in world and European championships themselves.

We are very hopeful that these decisions and this information, which have doubtlessly been received with satisfaction by sports public opinion, will inspire a rhythm of work at clubs, in sports training centers, and in all associations and organizations of physical culture and sport because we consider that sporting life, competitions and meetings are phenomena in our social life which are very necessary.

TECHNICAL ORGANIZATION SUPPORTS JARUZELSKI

LD302218 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] In response to the appeal of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] has urged its members to embark on unequivocal actions for order, calm and activation of economic activities through intense everyday work. NOT supports rational economic reform, activities for the benefit of the community, and the process of a genuine repair of the republic in the spirit of the Constitution, democracy and social justice.

YOUTH UNION LEADERS MEET WITH DIPLOMATS

LD302204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Today members of the leadership of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] met representatives of diplomatic missions of the socialist countries who deal with youth matters.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board, presented matters pertaining to cooperation and international contacts between the ZSMP and fraternal youth organizations of the socialist countries and expressed the conviction that next year mutual contacts will be further deepened and enriched.

STUDY OF POTENTIAL HEALTH CARE CENTERS CONTINUES

LD301250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] The study of adapting administrative projects for health service centers is nearly over. So far, over 190 projects have been listed. The final number of health service and social care centers will be known at the beginning of January 1982. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare informs that handing over administrative projects for health service continues.

PUBLICIST SAYS 'DECISIVE BATTLE' BEING WAGED

LD302028 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Boleslaw Borysiuk will now speak:

[Borysiuk] My fatherland and the Polish nation are living through another difficult period. A decisive battle is being waged for saving the foundations of the socialist Polish state. Faced with the mortal threat from forces of destruction and negation and from counterrevolutionary forces, the Polish soldier has stood up in defense of this state. One must say clearly and resolutely: soldiers of socialist Poland have stood up in defense of their own fatherland saving it from the fire of a fratricidal war, from the shedding of Polish blood and from the immensity of the tragedy which would have taken place if the designs of the opponent had not been forestalled. I am utterly convinced of this.

As a nation we are living through days and hours of great ordeal. No one except us, all of us, should prove to ourselves and to the world also that we are worthy of Poland.

REPORTS ON AID CONSIGNMENTS FROM AUSTRIA

LD302128 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 30 Dec 81

[By PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- Successive lorries carrying 20 tons of baby food have been dispatched from Vienna to Katowice by the Austrian "CARITAS" organization which so far has sent in aid to Poland 1,200 tons of food and other consumer goods worth 14 million schillings.

It is stressed here that all the hitherto dispatched goods have been timely delivered to the addresses which are Polish church organizations.

A successive transport of foodstuffs, baby food and toiletries for Poland is also prepared by the Austrian Red Cross which will convey them to the regional committees of the Polish Red Cross organization.

Some 30 million schillings have been also raised by the Austrian National Committee (?for) Assistance to Poland. Part of this money has been outlayed for the purchase of goods which have been already transported by railway from Austria to Poland.

USSR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ACTIVISTS RECEIVE AWARDS

LD302132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Today in the House of Soviet Science and Culture in the capital there was a meeting of more than 100 people of the capital's aktiv of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association (TPP-R) with the participation of members of the association's central authorities and representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw.

Thirty TPP-R activists, including veterans of the worker movement and World War II veterans, were decorated with the association's gold awards. The decorations were also received by 12 Warsaw teachers, pedagogues and educational activists.

Soviet Embassy representative Yevgeniy Borozov has handed letters expressing gratitude to Moscow children and young people for the more than 200,000 New Year parcels with presents sent to the children of Warsaw.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI GREET CASTRO ON ANNIVERSARY

LD302124 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- Chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption, first secretary of the PUWP CC and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and president of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski sent a congratulatory message to Fidel Castro on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of Cuban Revolution. The message says inter alia:

The Cuban nation, hardened in struggle against colonizers and imperialists, appreciates the need for internal peace, socialism building free from interference by hostile forces, and understands the need for defence of its achievements with all forces available. That is why we have appreciated and will appreciate the Cuban's support and sympathy for our efforts in combatting counterrevolution, restoration of the stability of the state and its socialist development free from [words indistinct]. On our part we shall continue to consolidate the bonds of fraternity and friendship benefitting our two nations and the interests of the socialist commonwealth.

CEAUSESCU DELIVERS NEW YEARS ADDRESS 30 DEC

AU302027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Report on speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu on receiving the foreign diplomatic corps accredited in Bucharest on New Year's Eve and the republic proclamation anniversary, on 30 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Thanking for the wishes he was addressed, for the wishes conveyed to the Romanian people on the day of the Republic and on the New Year, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania said among other things in the speech he made during the reception of the members of the diplomatic corps on December 30:

We end a year during which sustained efforts were made by all the peoples -- and I am refering to the Romanian people, too -- for ensuring their socioeconomic development. They had to overcome many difficulties determined by the economic crisis, by the fact that in the world economy in the international economic relations the crisis, the inequitable relations keep manifesting themselves -- having strong repercussions on the socioeconomic development of all states.

You have lived in Romania this year and you know both the work and achievements of the Romanian people and the difficulties it had in its socioeconomic development. We have made important steps -- even in this difficult year -- on the road of socio-economic development, in the implementation of our party's programme, of the resolutions of the twelfth congress for the country's development, for raising the general welfare of the people.

We conclude a year with many complicated questions in international life. Unfortunately, the expectations and wishes formulated virtually by all peoples -- also formulated by us and by our people a year ago, also on the same occasion -- were not fulfilled. Our people -- as well as all the peoples -- hoped that 1981 should lead to a lessening of tension and a reduction of arming, to the promotion of a policy of detente, based on the observance of the peoples' national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs. We witnessed, in a certain part of this year, several positive steps in this direction. Unfortunately, in the last part of the year we have witnessed measures leading to greater tension. A series of measures have been adopted which have heightened tension in the Middle East and in other parts of the world, although all of us expected measures meant to create conditions for the political settlement of all conflicts, for the renunciation of the use or threat of force.

Several positive moments were also recorded in Europe. In this sense I would refer to the progress made within the Madrid meeting for security and cooperation, to the stand adopted by many European governments to the policy of arming. Likewise, in this framework, I would like to mention the large peoples' demonstrations and movements for halting the deployment of the medium-range missiles in Europe, for determining the withdrawal of the existing ones and the achievement of new-type relations on the European Continent, through the definitive elimination of the nuclear armaments and in general through the gradual reduction of armaments. At the same time, I would like to mention the beginning at last -- and I think that public opinion played an important role in this respect -- of the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding the medium range missiles. All these were positive actions which entitled us to hope something at the end of this year and the beginning of 1982. Unfortunately, complications have occurred in Europe too, and lately a series of stands have been taken which directly contradicts the principles of detente, the principles adopted jointly by the countries signatory of the Helsinki documents. Economic sanctions, all kind of measures are resorted to that can only deteriorate the relations in Europe and throughout the world, raise new obstacles to detente, create a situation leading to the increase of military expenditures -- and this to the prejudice of the people's welfare, of the policy of detente and peace. That is why it is difficult now to make a survey of this year, which is very contradictory and which, unfortunately, concludes in an atmosphere of very high tension.

We begin a new year, 1982, with hopes, but we must also say it with many uncertainties.

As far as we in Romania are concerned, we adopted the programme of socioeconomic development for 1982 and we are determined to do everything to ensure its fulfilment. I also know that the peoples you represent -- and as a matter of fact all the peoples of the world -- want that next year bring them an improvement of the economic situation, contribute to the resumption of the economic activity, of the development of a collaboration based on equity and equality in all domains. There are forecasts in this respect, some not too good, yet others envisaging the possibility to relaunch the economic activity and the development of the international collaboration. We are among those states which consider that conditions exist -- if we concentrate our efforts for overcoming the economic difficulties -- to surmount in 1982 many difficulties and to lay the foundations of an expansion of economic collaboration, inclusive in the settlement of the underdevelopment-related questions and the building of a new international economic order. But, as you know very well, these prospects are directly linked with the general policy and first of all with the two tendencies manifest in international life: a tendency towards a policy of detente, of reducing the armaments and of peace, and another one towards a policy of tension and, implicitly, of enhancing the armaments, the danger of war. Now, at the beginning of a new year, the question is put -- and it must be put in all firmness: what kind of policy does one state or another pursue?

I think it is no need to stress that Romania, the Romanian people declare for the policy of detente, peace and settlement of questions by means of negotiations alone.

We consider that it is necessary to do our best so that in 1982 important steps be made towards the settlement of the Middle East questions by means of negotiations, that progress be made in finding a solution to or even finally settling the conflict between Iran and Iraq, as well as of other conflicts and litigious questions in international life. Such an orientation fully meets both the interests of the respective peoples, and the interests of all nations, their wish to concentrate their forces on their socioeconomic development, to live in peace. Romania will firmly act in this direction.

But there are other events, too, that have lately led to the heightening of tension. A real danger exists -- and we must not hide this -- that this tension should grow.

That is why, we consider that it is necessary that all states should give proof of the greatest restraint, should work with the high responsibility expected of each country, especially of the large ones which undoubtedly have an important role in international life, although they cannot solve alone the international questions and we must not expect and let the questions to be solved by the big countries alone. You know well that Romania has always considered, and now more than ever before, that it is necessary to work so that all states -- I am referring now to the states you represent -- should assume their responsibilities, should be more active in order to contribute to the settlement of the questions in the interest of peace, detente and national independence.

I think we can say that, under the current circumstances, the other states, too, can and must play an important role in halting the growth of tension, in making the large states understand that they should not stress force alone, that it is not necessary to demonstrate that they have enough force but that they must pay heed to the peoples' will and stress the ways of understanding and of solving the issues by negotiations.

If I were to refer to the countries in Europe --I do not refer to the peoples for they unanimously wish the cessation of the arms race -- I refer to the European governments, they too, in one form or another do not agree and cannot agree to the measures which heighten tension. I think account will be taken of this, and we must act for this to be so.

I want to be well understood. Speaking about the solution of problems, I have said more than once that the achievement of a Europe free from nuclear missiles of any kind, the reduction, in the last analysis, of armament in general, the creation of a world without nuclear weapons presupposes the building of confidence, of a real balance of forces, so that nobody should be afraid of becoming the victim of an agression stronger than its own forces. But we should accomplish this not by raising the level of armaments but by passing to their reduction. We expect the great powers -- as they are commonly termed although I know the Soviet Union which nevertheless is a great power dislikes to be placed in this category -- to act along this line. We expect the United States -- which is a great power and daily states it is so -- to understand that it has to take into account what the other peoples wish and act accordingly. They should sit down at the negotiations table. Likewise, it is necessary that all the European countries should participate in these negotiations and if the negotiations concern other regions, the countries in the respective zones should participate too, if they concern the whole world, all the states and nations of the world should participate.

The complex questions of peace, of disarmament, of national independence, of the economic and social progress can only be solved with the participation of all the states and peoples. We want to address our new year wishes to all those who want that confidence be restored and detente resumed, that action be taken and everything be done for the attainment of this objective.

We in Europe must do everything for the conclusion of the Madrid follow-up conference with the best possible results, for the calling of a conference on disarmament and confidence-building, for ensuring the continuity of these conferences. The last two years have proved how necessary suchlike meetings are, that they provide a basis for contacts, for talks, for finding common solutions to the questions concerning all of us. This holds true for all the regions of the world.

I want the Geneva negotiations to lead to results in the domain of the medium-range missiles, the non-deployment of new ones and the passing to the reduction of the existing ones. Generally, we would like that resolute measures be adopted for general disarmament and nuclear disarmament. I think that to a great or lesser extent there is no people not to wish that all kinds of measures which only lead to tension be given up, that the necessity of strictly observing each people's right to decide its domestic affairs by itself, without any outside interference be the starting point.

Each of us has specific problems -- in some countries they are more complicated, in others less complicated. But we would return to the cold war period if anyone assumed the right to establish how and what one country or another should do; we would hasten the outbreak of the war which can only lead to the destruction of our civilization.

It is obvious that our world is one of differing social systems. I mean not only the capitalist and socialist systems; this is an outdated simplification. There are many options -- some of them very good -- for the economic and social development, options which are neither socialist nor capitalist. We must start from respect for each people's right to freely choose the path of its development; we must give up the attitude of judging whether it is good or bad how a people solves its problems. What can be done is to help one people or another -- I am thinking of the peoples in the developing countries -- to solve the complex problems posed by their economic and social development. But to claim that a people must pay heed to the wish of another one which is larger or stronger than it, this is in utter discord with the principles of peaceful coexistence, the principles of equality, of respect for national independence and sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs. If we start judging the system in one state or another, then coexistence, detente, the policy of peace are out of the question. These are well-known problems, but I reiterate them now, thinking precisely of the high tension characteristic of this moment, tension which should be a major concern for us so that we may eliminate suchlike negative states of affairs in 1982.

Let us focus our attention -- and I would like now to refer to us, to the European countries -- on the joint solution of certain questions related to energy, transport, the environment. Yet let us not forget that Europe has had a common history, a common economic and social development, that, above differences of social systems, it represents a geographical, economic and social unity and that our concern must be to strengthen and develop this unity of the European Continent based on respect for each people, for national independence, for the system in each country. Our concern must be to strengthen mutual aid among the European peoples so that the progress, the economic and social development of each of them should be ensured in a form taking into account the national specificity, the tradition and history of each people. Certainly, this holds true for all continents. The unity of Africa is a necessity for the development of Africa; the unity of the Arab countries, the unity of the countries in other zones of the world, those in Latin America, too, are highly important factors for the general progress, for securing an international cooperation among all the states based on the principles affirmed by all of us and which we should also apply most firmly.

Indeed, we must think that everything we do must answer the people's will and wish for the better, for liberty, independence, peace, democratic development, for creating conditions so that the peoples, the masses may really play an ever more important role in the whole economic and social life.

It is with these thoughts that we should prepare to start the new year.

I would like to express my hope that the countries you represent, all the world states and peoples will act in such a manner that 1982 can mark an improvement of the international climate, a diminuation of tension, that concrete steps can be made along the lines I have referred to. I would like to be able to say at the end of next year that reason, the sense of responsibility have triumphed, that the heads of state and government have taken into account the peoples' will, that the spirit of justice, of equity, the peoples' will of liberty, independence, peace and collaboration have triumphed.

With these thoughts, I would like to wish your peoples success in their economic and social development, I would like to address the heads of state and government of your countries best wishes and to express my wish and hope that we shall strengthen our cooperation and collaboration for peace, progress and detente.

I wish you success in your future activity, good health and happiness. A happy new year to yourselves and your families.

BURTICA MEETS HUNGARIAN FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER

AU221933 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1856 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 Dec (AGERPRES) -- A friendly meeting took place on December 22 in Budapest, between Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of Romania, and Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade of the Hungarian People's Republic.

They examined current questions of development of the bilateral economic collaboration and agreed upon measures for the continuous development and diversification of the commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries.

CONSULATE OPENED IN HUNGARIAN TOWN 22 DEC

AU221932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 Dec (AGERPRES) -- The official opening of the consulate-general of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Debrecen took place on December 22.

Attending were representatives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of the local Hungarian party and state bodies, as well as members of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest.

MIKULIC SPEAKS AT LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

AU291400 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 81 p 3

[Krste Bijelic, Slobodan Vujica, Ivan Torov and Jovan Radovanovic report on the introductory speech by Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 23 December]

[Excerpt] At the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee, Branko Mikulic, president of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions, delivered the introductory report on the ideological-political foundations of amendments and supplements to the LCY Statute. He said among other things:

"Preparing materials for the 12th LCY Congress, the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions has completed its work and is submitting to the Central Committee its report that also includes among other things the proposed amendments and supplements to the LCY Statute.

"Not all views, appraisals and proposals included in the report are of a statutory nature and can therefore be used in also preparing other documents for the congress. The report especially points out everything that, in the commission's opinion, should be incorporated in the LCY Statute."

Historical Role of Comrade Tito

"The commission proposes that the preamble of the LCY Statute should point out the historical role of Comrade Tito in developing the revolutionary workers movement and building the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY as the vanguard and the leading ideological and political force of the workers class and all working people; in the struggle for social and national liberation of the workers class, peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia; in preparing, organizing and victoriously concluding the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution; and in the struggle for brotherhood, unity, equality and socialist togetherness of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, for forming the Yugoslav federal community, for freedom, territorial integrity and independence of the SFRY, for creating, constantly strengthening and preparing the armed forces and the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, for the relations between the communist workers and other progressive parties and movements in the world on the basis of their equality, for peace and equality of peoples and states, for founding the Nonaligned Movement and for consistently implementing its original principles.

"At the same time, we propose that the LCY Statute's provisions concerning the election of Comrade Tito as LCY president for an unlimited term of office be appropriately and partly incorporated in the preamble of the statute and that the position of LCY president be no longer retained in the LCY Statute. In the future, the statutory authority and function of the LCY president would be assumed by the Central Committee and, with its authorization, by the LCY Central Committee Presidium."

Having pointed out that the proposed political report on activity between the two congresses would appraise in detail the fulfillment of the role of the League of Communists in the political system, Mikulic called attention to the basic views on the role of the League of Communists, and stressed that the results achieved in this respect have not been satisfactory. He further said:

Lack of Links Between Delegations

"We are understandably interested in the reasons we have failed to achieve enough in our progress since the 11th congress. The report partly deals with this question also. I would add in this connection that among the reasons for this state of affairs it is also necessary to note the facts that the organs of the League of Communists have failed to appropriately organize themselves to keep up to date with the problems discussed within the delegate system and the socio-political and social organizations and that there are very few League of Communists officials in the delegate assemblies and bodies, and in the organs and bodies of the Socialist Alliance which is the front of the organized socialist forces and the broadest delegate basis.

"It is as a result of this, among other things, that the League of Communists organs in many sociopolitical communities are not preparing their views on the basis of information from their own delegates and delegations, that is on the basis of their own knowledge acquired through democratic discussions in delegations and delegate assemblies, at conferences of delegations, in the SAWPY and in other sociopolitical and social organizations; instead, independent of the problems discussed in these bodies, they are adopting predominantly generalized conclusions and less specific answers to the question of how the individual problems and issues should be solved through a democratic communication with other working people and citizens within the authorized self-managing and political organs. Thus, they expose themselves to the danger of acting as a factor outside the system and of losing direct contacts with the working man and his interests on the one hand and of becoming fused with the state administration organs on the other. Naturally, all this can result in multiple negative consequences."

Despite the clearly defined positions of principle on the organization and method of activity of the League of Communists in the delegate system, Mikulic pointed out that many basic organizations of the League of Communists concern themselves very little and infrequently with the problems discussed by delegations and the delegate assemblies. This is a consequence of the fact that members of the League of Communists who are members of delegations and delegates in assemblies have failed to sufficiently develop the practice of informing their basic organizations of the issues discussed by the chambers of delegate assemblies, the social councils and the organs and sections of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and other delegate bodies. This practice also fails to comply with the requirement that delegates of the League of Communists should be elected to the sports, cultural and arts and other associations, that the basic organizations of the League of Communists in basic organizations of associated labor should delegate their members to the councils of local communities and so forth. The view has been expressed in our discussions that it is necessary to restrictively determine where the basic organizations of the League of Communists should have their delegates. Because of the aforementioned role and responsibility of the League of Communists in defending the achievements and goals of our revolution, the basic organizations of the League of Communists in the basic organizations of associated labor must also understandably have their own delegates, that is, their own representatives in the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection; however, they can elect delegates to other delegate bodies together with trade union and youth organizations, that is, together as a "front" and not each separately. But the Statute of the League of Communists must also oblige members of the League of Communists who are delegates of the chambers of delegate assemblies, the councils of local communities and other delegate bodies to regularly inform their basic organizations of the League of Communists of the problems on the agendas of these bodies.

Democratic Centralism as the Basic Principle

Calling attention to the basic view that communists must promote a free manifestation of different interests and their democratic and self-managing coordination and that the synthesis of these interests cannot be achieved spontaneously without the active role of the organized socialist forces, Branko Mikulic further said: "As regards the League of Communists this means that it is necessary to constantly acknowledge all these interests and to constantly strive for their democratic coordination and fulfillment within the appropriate institutions of the system, always bearing in mind the immediate and historical interests and goals of the workers class. The condition for that is, on the one hand, that members of the League of Communists actively participate in the work of self-managing organs and delegate bodies, the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical and social organizations and that they 'bring' the problems and open issues that turn up in discussions on coordinating different self-managing interests to the organs and organizations of the League of Communists in order to achieve accords on the engagement of members of the League of Communists in solving these problems and issues and, on the other, that the League of Communists acts together with the [workers] class and all working people and insures that its individual organs and organizations will not provide support for the imposition and fulfillment of the individual interests and, most frequently, of the aims of techno-bureaucratic monopolies."

"It is in this way alone that the League of Communists can contribute to greater efficiency in achieving social accords and self-managing agreements on coordinating and fulfilling different interests and prevent the tendencies of exclusiveness and conflict and the tendencies of politicizing partial interests and confronting them with the common and general interests, tendencies which, as we well know, provoke negative consequences especially in the intranational and inter-republican and provincial relations."

In the continuation of his report, Mikulic spoke extensively on democratic centralism. He pointed out the basic views outlined by Comrade Tito at the 11th LCY Congress and the views incorporated in the resolution and the statute. He said among other things:

"There have been no initiatives for changing the basic principles of relations within the LCY. On the contrary, an unanimous view that these principles must be retained and further strengthened has been expressed in the commission as well as in the course of consultations in the central and provincial committees and in the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. However, unlike the discussions held in the LCY organs and bodies in which the principles of democratic centralism or the unity of the LCY have not been disputed at all, suggestions have been made in some public discussions that the principles of democratic centralism should be replaced by 'democratic unity,' that 'pluralism of opinions' in the LCY should be regulated by statute, that 'classical democratic centralism' should be replaced by 'democratic accords on the basis of self-management' and the like.

"I wish to recall that such and other similar initiatives also manifested themselves in the discussion held prior to the Ninth LCY Congress when some individuals spoke about a conflict between 'the vanguard thinking which was permanently appearing and developing... frequently outside the forums among individuals, among a minority....' on the one hand, and the 'old structure which stifled and prevented that thinking' on the other; and when some individuals further said that 'the practice of imposed discipline should be replaced by the strength of arguments, persuasion and one's own knowledge,' that 'the principles of dynamic unity' should be adopted and that democratic centralism should be replaced by 'democratic unity,' 'democratic federalism' and so forth."

The president of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Organizational and Statutory questions then pointed to the negative consequences that manifested themselves at that time (among them: centrifugal tendencies in the LCY and the society, the tendency of pushing aside the workers' and class interests, liberalist tendencies, monopolism and centralism and the like) and then noted:

"At the beginning of the seventies, the League of Communists stood in the way of these tendencies and their promoters, primarily in its own ranks.

'Answering these tendencies, the platform for the preparation of the 10th LCY Congress says: "A greater independence of every individual League of Communists in a socialist republic or a province in implementing its policy also implies among other things its greater responsibility for the socialist and self-managing development of its own republic and, at the same time, its greater and equal responsibility for the socialist and self-managing progress in the entire Yugoslav community.' And it says further: '...The workers class does not need a vanguard which would represent a federal coalition of republican and provincial organizations or a centralist suprarepublican organization. It needs a unified revolutionary action and a vanguard expressing the entire aggregate of interests of the movement....'"

REPORTAGE ON SERBIAN LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

Constitutional Questions

LD242226 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1919 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG) -- Proper solutions for the position of the republics and provinces have been found by the Yugoslav Constitution (of 1974), but there are "standstills" in the application of those solutions.

This is the shortest assessment of the discussion at today's session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee which considered the position of the autonomous provinces within the framework of this republic.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia is the only Yugoslav republic of which two autonomous provinces are parts: Vojvodina and Kosovo.

At the session, which was also attended by representatives of all political structures of the provinces and the republic, attempts to equalize the provinces and the republic were criticized, as were the trends to concentrate in the republic rights greater than those provided for by the Constitution.

The objective of the session is to coordinate controversial stands regarding the correct implementation of the Constitution, that is regarding the place of the provinces, their rights and obligations within the republic. There were opinions that in practice the provinces enjoy too much rights, i.e. that they have been equalized with the republic which is a state within the Yugoslav federation.

The discussion on the relationship between the provinces and the Republic of Serbia was opened back in 1977 when the provincial leaderships charged that the provinces did not have enough autonomy.

In today's discussion, however, it was pointed out several times that the competencies of the republics and provinces are regulated by the Constitution. The unanimous opinion of the participants in the debate which occasionally was tempestuous is that there is no need to change the Constitution, but only to correctly implement it.

The provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo are multinational. The majority of the population in Kosovo are Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins while in Vojvodina, where Serbs are in majority. Members of the Hungarian nationality are also numerous.

Owing to the duration of the opening report only about ten speakers took part in debate today. The session continues tomorrow because the list of speakers contains about 70 more names.

Vlaskalic Report

LD241405 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 23 Dec 81

["Prerelease of Report by Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic to the 18th Session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee on 24 December" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- It is well known that in 1974 we adopted a new Constitution for the country as a whole and then constitutions for the socialist republics and the provinces. Thus, as a continuation of our revolutionary road, we built the constitutional basis for the further development of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The nature of this constitutional system is known.

As a result of their character and far-reaching effect, the changes in social relations and in the relations within the federation, which were inaugurated in 1974, represent a deep constitutional reform. The nature of the constitutional principles and orientations has the character of a program for a long period of social development, and this places before our subjective socialist forces and above all the League of Communists the major task of building a new stage in the development of our country's self-managing and federal system.

Following the promulgation of the Constitution, this new stage in the development of our society was marked by important work on preparing major laws concerning the system -- especially the law on associated labor and the law on planning -- to further elaborate on the constitutional orientations for the purpose of applying them in practice so as to promote the development of production relations in socialist self-management. This stage was also marked by the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses and their decisions, which explained the nature of ideological wavering in society and in the League of Communists in connection with the direction of our society's development, and also laid and strengthened the Marxist ideological foundations for the further development of socialist self-management over a longer period of time.

In recent years, following the rejection of the liberalist political orientation in social development and the dogmatic-etatist alternative that offered itself as an ally in the struggle against liberalism, the Serbian League of Communists has established at its seventh and eighth congresses a clear orientation toward the further development of self-management and relations based on equality in the Yugoslav federation and has striven to implement this orientation in practice. The new constitutional solutions placed before the whole League of Communists of Yugoslavia the major task of implementing the Constitution in practice, and it placed before the Serbian League of Communists a specific task that stemmed from the fact that the Socialist Republic of Serbia is a composite sociopolitical and state community with two autonomous provinces that are a part of it and at the same time also a constituting element of the Yugoslav federation. The task is that of building and promoting the kind of socio-economic, political and state relations that will express the unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the togetherness that exists within it along with the simultaneous building and development of the autonomous provinces in keeping with the constitutional provisions.

What is now necessary is to analyze critically the implementation of constitutional solutions in this specific and complex field of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, to identify the positive and negative tendencies and results, and to arrive at attitudes and conclusions concerning new steps aimed at strengthening unity and togetherness in our republic. This is also necessary because, for a number of years now -- especially since 1977 -- there have been differences between the ways the republican and provincial leaderships appraised the existing relations in practice, especially with regard to trends in the further development of these relations. This is why the conclusions of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee said: "In the interests of consistently realizing the SFRY Constitution, the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces, the LCY Central Committee holds the view that there is need to consider experiences and problems concerning the realization of togetherness on the basis of the building of socialist self-managing relations from the points of view of the federation and of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a republic and of the socialist autonomous provinces, which are integral parts of the republic and also constituting elements of the federation."

These, then, are the reasons for opening a debate on this theme at a Central Committee session. It is necessary for us to gauge the extent of the persistence, skill, creativity and even good will with which we have developed our practical work in this sphere. This, after all, is what we do in regard to other issues and problems of our social development.

Consequently, the views and statements that distort the basic thesis and essence of the discussions we are initiating by asserting that there are in the leadership of the Serbian League of Communists tendencies and pressures toward changing the constitutional position of the provinces and their autonomous rights are without any foundation. Such statements and views are totally inaccurate and tendentious, suppress discussion, and create a lack of trust and confusion among the public. As Marxists and communists, we are holding this discussion to analyze practice and life, and to determine whether we are moving in the right direction, where we are making mistakes and whether we are reducing or widening the gap between orientation and reality.

I

The building of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia on constitutional foundations involves all socio-economic and political relations, including the issue of relations between the republic and the provinces within it. Practice indicates that this is a long and complex problem in which there are a number of important aspects and problems for which we have not yet found satisfactory solutions. The biggest of these problems is the following: How and on the basis of what practical solutions and elements should we -- in addition to promoting the autonomy of the provinces in the republic and respecting the elements of their constituting status in the Yugoslav federal system -- develop togetherness in the republic and the unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a republic or, in other words, a state? This same question is also posed in connection with the unity of all the sociopolitical organizations in the republic.

I believe it should be noted that in answering this question we have been least successful in implementing the constitution and statutory provisions, that we are facing a series of still unsolved problems, and that in recent years we have been confronted by trends towards an uncontrollable process of isolation by the provinces as opposed to togetherness in the republic and the building of the elements of the unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a republic. To put it more clearly, the solutions that led to the full affirmation of the province in practical life were not accompanied by the development of any of the important practical solutions that would ensure the constitutionally guaranteed unity of the republic and also a higher degree of togetherness within it. In the final analysis of the erroneous political orientation of the former leadership of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, this trend had developed to the point of severing the province from the republic. This orientation inevitably and spontaneously created in the heads of many people a yarning for a republic, and in the end it manifested itself in the hands of the enemy in the form of a slogan and demand: "Kosovo - a Republic."

Because of this course of events, we now face two problems. One of them manifests itself in the form of a question as to what, in terms of practical solutions, expresses the unity of the republic, or, in other words, expresses the fact that the provinces are a part of the republic. The second problem stems from the first and is reflected in the question as to what is meant by the part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia outside the provinces amid the conditions of the incompleteness of the constitutional elements concerning the unity of the republic. Considering it to be a republic or considering that it, too, should constitute itself in the form of an appropriate socio-political community not only is not a constitutional solution but also represents a crude violation of the constitution in practice.

It is very important for us to agree on the nature of such an assessment of the current situation in the application of constitutional solutions on relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, particularly in relations between the republic and the provinces. If we achieve the necessary agreement on this, then the path for constructive discussion, proposals and solutions is opened up and we can eliminate those tendencies in the application of the constitution that do not take account of the totality of constitutional solutions, which also means that there is a need to strengthen togetherness in the republic and to develop elements of the unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state community. Such agreement would point us towards creative work and work agreements.

II

The main task arising out of the constitution and LCY policy throughout the whole of the country as well as in our republic is the development of a unified production relationship in society based on social ownership of the means of production and on self-management by working people.

The degree of development of the production relations in socialist self-management represents a basic source and strength of our community and unity for it expresses the historic and current interests of the working class of all working people as well as of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

At the grass roots of society, in associated labor, there is strong pressure for the continued and more resolute development of self-management relations. On the other hand, there are also instances of resistance, based on statist and technocratic relations and concepts. This is a contradiction at the base of all the problems with which we are confronted in society, and it is also the basic problem which we are discussing today.

The basic problem of the further development of self-management and our society is whether already evident tendencies toward isolationism will continue to develop, or whether the processes of association and linking will become stronger than up to now. The social basis of autarchy is, as we have noted several times, the statist-bureaucratic attitude, the dominant role of the state in social reproduction. The other side of this attitude is stagnation and the weakening of self-management and the decisive role of working people in social and political life.

Instances of bureaucratic statism, in various forms, are present from the municipality up to the federation. In this respect, particularly in connection with the subject of our discussion today, we must devote special attention to instances and tendencies of statist attitudes at the level of republics and provinces.

In practice however, as we know, statist attitudes remain in the republics and provinces and they are expressed through tendencies toward isolationism and its practice. Our criticism of isolationism generally, as well as in the republics and provinces, is firmly based on the unity of class and nation in socialist self-management. This is also our constant point in criticism of unitarist ideas which, in the name of community, would replace one kind of statism with another, as well as in our criticism of separatist ideas which replace "alien" and "higher" statism with "their own", and both are against self-management. It is, then, a question of a general problem which has specific forms in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and, I would say, appears here in a more complex form.

Social practice, then, has confronted us with a pronounced problem of isolationism and the statist relations which lie behind it. Therefore, we approach the need for community in our republic from the point of view of the development and consolidation of socialist self-management production relations and the class interests of working people. This, today, is the first condition for a more decisive development of self-management practice in the whole of our republic.

I do not wish here to enter into a general assessment of the level of association, or of the character, firmness and long-term nature of linking between organizations of associated labor. According to last year's statistics, the role of jointly realized receipts in overall receipts in the economy amounted to the following: in the whole of the country -- 10.5 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, exclusive of the socialist autonomous provinces -- 9.3 percent; in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina -- 11.8 percent; and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo -- 5.3 percent. I think we can easily agree that the situation is unsatisfactory and that we must do much to increase the level of association between organizations of associated labor in our republic and in the country generally.

However, it is more essential to present the assessment that a real level of association and linking between organizations of associated labor in the whole of the republic -- that is, community at the grass roots of society -- and the need for further and more rapid association and linking, require a significantly higher level of unity and activity by organs of the republic and provinces, from medium-term planning down to specific practical work in the sphere of the economy and economic policy.

Tendencies toward isolationism in the sphere of political relations and the political system could not remain without negative consequences for the state and trends of linking between organizations of associated labor. As is well known, in recent years we have seen several instances of disintegration of associated labor. They cannot be generalized, nor necessarily assessed as negative. The motives may also be an appropriate aspiration toward reorienting one's own linking in accordance with the logic of reproduction, and they may also lie in opposition to technocratic centralism at the level of work or composite organizations of associated labor, and so forth.

The problem, however, lies in those instances of disintegration which are, in the true sense of the world, the result of pressures outside associated labor and aspirations toward the territorial "encircling" of the economy -- that is, those instances of disintegration which are the consequences of the concept of autarkic development.

The conclusion which one draws is that the weakness of community in the Socialist Republic of Serbia opens up the process of the disintegration of associated labor and the weakening of community at the very grass roots of society. This is a dangerous tendency, with possible serious negative consequences, a tendency which objectively reduces the strength of socialist self-management and the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. We, as the League of Communists, must in this respect be extremely responsible, and we must do everything we can to stimulate the strengthening and expansion of community at the grass roots of society.

As is well known, today we are also confronted with the weakening of the unity of the market, both in the whole country and in our republic. In the last decade there has been a reduction of trade between the republics and provinces, as well as within our republic as a whole. The strengthening of the role of the state in the economy, along with the tendency toward the weakening of community in the republic, from the absence of a prices policy to various forms of monopolization of the market, have led to these phenomena. There is not rational justification, either economic or from the self-management viewpoint, for the current situation. We must, then, change it by resolute action.

Processing from everything that has been said, our aim is to strengthen the association and linking of organizations of associated labor. This aim cannot abandoned to a spontaneous trend. We must support and stimulate it with all the instruments at our disposal and the forms of social organization. However, today the situation is not like that.

For example, the existing situation in which we have three quite separate economic chambers in our republic cannot serve association and linking. The mechanism of the economic chambers, which as a form of the organization of the economy are formed precisely in order to expedite cooperation in association between organizations of associated labor, must be a factor of association and not of separation. This is not an advocation of the centralization of economic chambers but a demand for their organization in this way, especially for such cooperation that will expedite association in the economy in our republic and more widely, and this will open up the possibilities of self-management making joint initiatives in the economy.

In this respect, particularly serious and characteristic is the system in the sphere of the system of planning and the social plan of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. As is well known, because of existing disagreements on the role and character of parts of the social plan, our republic does not have a law on the social plan of the republic. For the same reasons the social development plan of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the 1981-85 period even today has no established bases of development policy of joint interest.

In this introductory report it is not possible to point out all the aspects and specific features of the problem. It would similarly not be sufficient to repeat what we have already stressed many times in organs of the Serbian League of Communists, that this situation is anachronistic and we must find a way out of it.

We in Serbia today need a law on the social plan which would be a systemic lever, strengthening association and linking between organizations of associated labor and their joint planning, which would introduce both the mechanisms and forms of social planning in both the republic and the provinces for this purpose.

In the same manner it is necessary to build a common development policy which will be in keeping with the attained degree of association in the economy and represent a factor in the further self-managing process of association and pooling.

The social plan for the development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in the period from 1981 to 1985 must be a plan aimed at strengthening the togetherness of the republic's associated labor, a plan which, by strengthening the unity of the republic on the basis of the consistent implementation of the constitution will also strengthen self-management and by strengthening self-management will also strengthen our unity.

In formulating a system of planning and the social plan for the Socialist Republic of Serbia which will, on constitutional foundations, strengthen unity and togetherness in the republic we need a change of approach and in the manner of thinking. This must be the political attitude of this Central Committee.

Proceeding from the above, I wish to place particular stress on the following: In the Serbian League of Communists there is no doubt as to whether togetherness should be built on the basis of association, socialist self-management and full equality of nations and nationalities or on the basis of strengthening the state. Our attitude on this is completely clear and unanimous: there can be no togetherness and unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia unless they are based on self-management, association and equality.

The activity of the state and the entire political system must be in the service of the strengthening of self-management, intensification of association. Today this primarily means the need to overcome autarkic trends in the field of our republic's "state" organization, the need to strengthen the republic as a whole. This does not mean the strengthening of the state: It does not mean centralism. This concerns the need to demolish any forms of etatism by placing the constitutional obligations and responsibilities of the republic and the provinces in the service of the development of socialist self-management and the further affirmation of the class interests of the working people.

III

The political system in the republic was also adapted to changes in the fields of socioeconomic relations. The basic reason for introducing the delegate system was to effectively ensure that no forces could impose themselves on the working class in the form of general political representatives as intermediaries between the true interests of the working class and working people on one hand, and the power of the state and administration of society's affairs in general, on the other hand. The basis on which this system is built are the organizations of associated labor and other self-managing communities. This, then, is a form of direct democracy and not classical political representation.

The problem of relations within the Socialist Republic of Serbia are not new. Analysis of these relations since 1974 points to a number of prevalent trends:

1. The full affirmation of socialist autonomous provinces as constitutional parts of the federation. To this one can add that in this respect practice has gone further than the 1974 Constitution. This has also manifested itself in federal legislation in the form of such an extent and degree of legislative equalization of the status of the socialist autonomous province with the status of the republics that inadequate attention was paid to the fact that the socialist autonomous provinces are also integral parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Further, the almost exclusive stress placed in a number of acts and actions of the socialist autonomous provinces on one sole component of the constitutional status of the socialist autonomous province was reflected negatively in the building of relations within the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

2. Insufficient elaboration of relations within the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a socialist democratic state and self-managing community, and insufficient development of these relations in it. The constitutional norms according to which the socialist autonomous provinces are parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the rights of the working people and citizens in the socialist autonomous provinces as defined in the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, are realized in the republic as well but have not been given an adequately concrete form in recent years. A number of important laws which should have provided this concrete form (law on all-people's defense and social self-protection, law on the social plan for the Socialist Republic of Serbia, law on the Executive Council) could not be passed owing to differences in understanding and interpreting constitutional provisions. A number of other laws were passed only after a long process of agreement-seeking and delays extending to as much as several years. Because of all this, the areas of joint interest regulated by the republic have not been precisely defined.

Very little use has been made even of the convenient form of the so-called consultative laws under article 301 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. There has been no adoption of a number of really indispensable accords. For instance, the initiative of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia at the end of 1978 seeking to achieve an agreement which would more closely define questions of international cooperation and relations with foreign countries, which were of interest to the republic as a whole and which arrive at a manner of providing information, holding consultations and agreeing attitudes on these questions, was not accepted by the socialist autonomous provinces.

3. The harmonization and coordination of attitudes has excessively been kept within the sphere of republican and provincial administrative and executive organs. On many important disputes questions there has been no public discussion in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Assembly has not expressed its views on them. The adoption of laws of this kind and other acts under article 300 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia only took place if full agreement was first reached with the provincial assemblies. The intention was, obviously, to avoid confrontations in the Assembly. It should be noted, however, that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia does not provide for such a way out.

4. In the sphere of social activities, readiness and initiatives to develop some joint starting points and principles were not evident, nor were orientations toward solving certain problems -- which might have been borne in mind when adopting republican and provincial laws or other acts, in order to avoid difficulties and inconsistencies in life. For example, this was and is essential especially in the sphere of education, which is confirmed by this year's problems and the public's disquiet about the policy of enrolling at high school institutions.

5. Relations between republican and provincial organs could not be viewd as satisfactory if one bears in mind that they work in the same republic. This applies particularly to such significant spheres as all-people's defense and internal affairs.

6. As a result of the above trends, which have objectively distanced themselves from the relations set out in the Constitution in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, republican organs were in a situation in which they increasingly acted as organs formed for the territory of the Socialist Republic of Serbia outside the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces. According to the Constitution they are not like this, nor can they be.

Differences and problems manifested in carrying out the Constitution are of such a nature that they can no longer be the subject of narrow internal discussions, but must be discussed responsible and constructively at the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, as well as by other bodies in the republic and provinces.

The prerequisite for a successful agreement on what we shall do in future -- and this is precisely our task -- is the elimination or clearing up of some disputes, dilemmas and instances of mutual distrust. It is essential that we all consider where things are going objectively if we continue with this practice in relations.

The complex political organisation of the Socialist Republic of Serbia does not mean nor could it lead to any kind of federalization, that is, transforming the so-called area of Serbia proper into a sociopolitical community so that a political organization adapted to it might be developed through "a three-member partnership", and a method of decision-making in the organs of the republic. It is not a question of any kind of formal demand of this kind, but of factual relations which might in future develop in this direction, and would then undoubtedly mean a major constitutional change.

The socialist autonomous provinces do not have any kind of "transitional status", either in the sense of their disappearance in future, or in the sense of their transformation into a republic, as a better possible form of political organization for these sociopolitical communities.

The Constitution established the nature, rights and duties of all sociopolitical communities. However, one cannot accept any going beyond the constitutional position, rights and duties of either the socialist autonomous provinces or the republic. The processes which might lead to factual relations in this direction are unacceptable for several reasons. Let us mention only the most important:

1. They would make an important change in the established constitutional organization of our society and relations between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. It is not superfluous to mention that the bases of these relations were set out as early as the 2d session of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] in 1943, as well as in the Constitutions and other acts of 1945 and 1946, and that they were reaffirmed in the later evolution of our political system, gaining those new forms demanded by the development of socio-economic, self-management and political relations in Yugoslavia.

2. The prospect of the Yugoslav federation does not lie in increasing the number of republics but in the development of the political system which will increasingly strengthen the direct power of working people and on this basis ensure the complete equality of the nations and nationalities of our country.

All this assumes the resolute rejection of any kind of statist-centralist and unitarist concepts of state organization in Yugoslavia or any party of Yugoslavia and the rejection of nationalistic, bureaucratic-particularistic and similar concepts, which do not take account of the socialist and self-management perspective of the development of the political system, but which are essentially aimed at maintaining or creating statist relations in opposition to self-management.

3. Relations between the republic and the autonomous provinces within it cannot be permanently and successfully resolved by any kind of static legal formulae. The tendency toward gradually changing the position of the autonomous provinces, as set out in the Constitution, and toward equating it with the republic must inevitably lead to great political difficulties.

The events in Kosovo proved this. Similarly unacceptable were tendencies toward changing the constitutional position of the socialist autonomous provinces in favor of strengthening republican centralism.

The question of relations between the republic and autonomous provinces within it, in essence and in the long term, is above all a question of the adequate development of socialist self-management socioeconomic and political relations, the coordination of the interests of working people and the enrichment and strengthening of community, and equality between the nations and nationalities in the spirit of socialist humanism, mutual respect and responsibility.

We in the Serbia League of Communists must agree on the directions in which to seek practical solutions in the functioning of the political system in the republic. These solutions must be based on the Constitution -- here I am thinking of the SFRY Constitution, as well as the Constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces -- and they must permit the coordinated and effective exercise of the rights and duties of the republics and the socialist autonomous provinces. Most important, these solutions or method of activity, which we in the Serbia League of Communists are bound to respect, must act to promote socialist community within the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as well as cooperation and agreement with them. The firm and principled orientation of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee on this can and should enable the following, above all, in the sphere of the political system:

First, the necessary laws should be adopted, as well as other changes and amendments which would set out in more detail some of the rights and duties of the republic, already established in principle in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia;

Second, in areas of joint interests in the republic joint platforms and ways of resolving certain questions should be built up by agreement and developed, regardless of whether these issues are expressed in so-called laws of agreement, in the social agreements or special republican and provincial acts;

Third, the organs of the republic should really act according to their constitutional responsibilities, as well as in the comprehensive, real, work cooperation, and not formalized cooperation, with provincial organs;

Fourth, the socialist autonomous provinces should affirm fully both of their components, both as an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and as a constituent element of the federation.

A very significant role in the continued development of the political system of the Socialist Republic of Serbia will be played by the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities, from the municipality up to the republic. In fact, the struggle against statism and the process of deetatization in society are not carried out merely by strengthening the role and material position of associated labor and by its association and linking, but by developing the delegate system in sociopolitical communities. It is a question of two complimentary processes which weaken the strength of statism as a social attitude and strengthen self-management and socialist democracy.

In connection with what we are discussing today I should like to place particular stress on the role and responsibility of the assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the assemblies of the socialist autonomous provinces. If all the desired changes are to be achieved through them, all the organized subjective socialist forces and above all the League of Communists must really be in evidence and be active and effective in them.

It is indispensable to intensify and enrich the process of coordination of views in all its stages through the process of the views given by the executive councils of the socialist autonomous provinces and the provincial assemblies. However, in the course of this when article 300 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is concerned it is necessary to apply the constitutionally defined manner of adopting Assembly decisions.

It is indispensable to reach agreement on an adequate interpretation of Article 300 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and above all of such notions contained in it as "foundations", "fundamental principles" and so forth, which, in keeping with the established rights and duties of the republic and competences of its organs and in keeping with the meaning of the constitutional norms which define the relations with and status of the socialist autonomous provinces as integral parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, would make possible a more extensive and better balanced system of regulations in constitutionally defined spheres. This does not question the right of the organs of the socialist autonomous provinces to regulate relations in keeping with the Constitution.

One must not hear that tendencies toward separate the Leagues of Communists of the provinces from the Serbian League of Communists as a whole manifested themselves in the work of the League of Communists and its leaderships, which, in turn, also had a negative effect on political relations in the republic in the broader sense of the word. These tendencies, as we noted, particularly manifested themselves in Kosovo as the result of the bureaucratic exclusiveness of the provincial political leadership and the penetration of greater-Albanian nationalism into the social and political life of the province. It goes without saying that political relations in the Serbian League of Communists and the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a whole cannot be appraised on the basis of the events in Kosovo and the drastic undermining of the unity of the LCY and the Serbian League of Communists. The problem exists independently of these events and it is therefore indispensable that we should consider this theme in all its complexity.

The League of Communists of Vojvodina and the League of Communists of Kosovo are parts of the LCY, but at the same time they are also integral parts of the League of Communists of Serbia.

It is this double status of the Leagues of Communists of the two provinces -- as parts of the LCY and the League of Communists simultaneously -- that reflects the specific nature of the League of Communists of Serbia. A part of this specific nature is the constant danger that one of these components should become the dominant one at the expense of the other. These two components cannot be separated mechanically. The important thing is that with regard to actual relations they should permeate and supplement each other. If the opposite happens, unsolved problems will pile up, differences will increase, and unity will grow weaker. The LCY Statute clearly defines the status of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the League of Communists of Kosovo and establishes their independence.

It equally clearly states that they are parts of the League of Communists of Serbia. One can say that it was in the period since the 11th LCY Congress that this first aspect of the statutory solution was fully reaffirmed and that the independence of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the League of Communists of Kosovo fully manifested itself. However, the second aspect of this statutory solution remained insufficiently developed in practice. There was no patient and persistent work on the building of the kind of relations which would favor a working and analytical discussion of any problem. Without such work the unity of the League of Communists of Serbia was increasingly reduced to a mere formality. There were even proposals for further separation.

On the eve of the 11th LCY Congress proposals came from the provinces that in the LCY Statute the provincial organizations of the League of Communists should be given full parity with the organizations of the League of Communists in the republics by introducing congresses and central committees in the provinces. These proposals were also revived in the first pre-congress discussions at the beginning of this year and were formulated in the material prepared by the appropriate commission of the LCY Central Committee.

We must view all this in connection with the simultaneous attempts to make a switch in other sociopolitical organizations to that kind of representation of the provinces in the republic-level organs which corresponded to the federal type of community. Some of these proposals were adopted by unilateral decisions of the provincial organs.

It goes without saying that we are not talking here about any purely organizational questions. By themselves, these proposals reflect an actual situation in which there was no genuinely united activity of the Serbian League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations in day-to-day practical work, few actions were organized as united actions covering the whole territory of the Serbian League of Communists and in this connection there was also an absence of direct contact between the Central Committee and its members with the work of the organizations and organs of the League of Communists in the provinces, ranging from basic organizations all the way up.

The ideological and political action of the League of Communists must be aimed at the patient day-to-day work which strengthens unity and at building long-term foundations of togetherness. Nothing that is common to all can establish itself as the sum of individual pragmatic solutions unless the long-term interests of the entire community is understood at the same time, unless the process of coordination of views proceeds from clearly expressed social plans and self-managing agreements in various fields of economic and social life. The awareness of what is common to all must be in evidence whenever a concrete decision is taken, regardless of where it is taken. The worst deformations in our political practice take place when even the League of Communists places itself in the service of partial and narrow interests and loses sight of the common and long-term aspect.

The real joint interest of the working people, nations and nationalities in our republic and in the entire country would be coordinated much more easily if the interests of basic organizations and communities were to play a decisive role in this process.

We must look upon relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia in their entirety, and primarily from this angle. The bureaucratization of social life and of decision-making represents the main barrier to togetherness, which we have faced recently in various forms. The natural political consequences of restricting the real possibilities for the working class to participate on the broadest social basis in decision-making are nationalism and etatism. In rising today against these tendencies and against the forces which manifest them in society, there can be no doubt for us when it is the basic ideological position of the League of Communists which is at stake. The tendencies in practice which proceed from the concepts of bureaucratic centralism and those, whose ideological origins lies in isolationism and etatist isolation within narrow borders of any kind, are equally unacceptable to us. Nationalism of any hue is the natural ally of both of these aspirations because nationalism, in our areas, has always been the basis for rallying forces which are opposed to the real interests of the working class and to the self-managing path of social development. Outside these principled and historical orientations of the League of Communists we cannot have any of our debates, including also our debate today.

The principled character of our approach is also of fundamental significance for the struggle against Serbian nationalism. It is precisely from the standpoint of the struggle against Serbian nationalism that the League of Communists must approach, in an organized and decisive manner, the resolving of problems discussed today. Serbian nationalists see the solution of these problems in abolishing the autonomy of socialist provinces, in centralization, in negating the relations of equality of nations and nationalities in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. It is for this reason that I stress the need to struggle against etatism regardless of at which level it might be established itself, because etatism in our circumstances is the social basis of any kind of nationalism.

The basic weakness of the hitherto work practice of the League of Communists of Serbia undoubtedly lies in the insufficient factional linking up of the provincial league of communists organization with the work of the League of Communists in Serbia proper and the underdevelopment of the principles of democratic centralism in the League of Communists of Serbia. This is reflected, above all, in the weak coordination of the work of the central and provincial committees.

What is involved is not some kind of formal coordination of the work program but the lack of unified action in implementing the attitudes which should, to a much greater extent, be the result of the joint analysis of many social problems and of the unified approach to resolving them. In essence, these critical assessments [word indistinct] demand the unification of programs and that they be implemented at the same time in Serbia proper and in the provinces. What is involved is the ideological and political view of these questions, the solving of which is in our joint interest and where the absence of timely political assessment gives rise to major disagreements and confrontations. If, for a lengthy period of time, the League of Communists organs in the republic and provinces do not raise these questions -- and we have quite a considerable number of such cases -- the League of Communists will lose the initiative and leave matters to haphazard development.

The implementation of the statutory attitude that the League of Communists of the provinces are a component part of the League of Communists of Serbia, will depend on the extent of the success to which we shall unitedly direct the activity by all communists in the republic to resolving crucial issues of our social development.

For a complete assessment of the problems that are on the agenda, some phenomena that emerge in the method of organizing and establishing organs of sociopolitical organizations at the republican level are also significant. From the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina changes in the statutes of all sociopolitical organizations -- the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth Federation, the Veterans' Federation -- have been initiated or carried out or are in progress. What must be grasped here is that these proposals on normative changes coincide in time and are identical in content. In specific terms, what is involved is the following: According to the still valid statute of the Serbian SAWP, the republican conference is constituted by every municipal SAWP organization electing its delegate while provincial SAWP conferences elect five delegates each. However, the new statute of the Vojvodina Socialist Alliance dictates that the provincial organization of the Socialist Alliance participate in the establishment of the republican conference only through the delegation elected by the provincial SAWP conference of Vojvodina. Such a solution is contrary to the statute of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia and it abolishes the direct delegate ties of municipal SAWP organizations in the province and the republican conference and creates a situation in which one method of electing delegates is valid for the republican conference in Serbia proper and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and another method of electing delegates from the area of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Of course, this unilateral decision is not only organizational in the narrow sense of this word, but it has also deeper political implications.

At the Sixth Congress of the Serbian Trade Union Federation, held in November 1978, statutory changes of a similar nature were made. According to the statute adopted at that time, delegates for the Council of the Serbian Trade Union Federation from Serbia proper are elected by municipal organizations of the trade union federation, and in the provinces, by provincial trade union federation conferences.

The Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina Socialist Youth Federation in December 1980 changed, by unilateral decision, the method of electing delegates from the territory of the province for the republican conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Serbia. It introduced a provincial delegation of 15 members instead of the delegates of municipal organizations of the youth federation up to then, though the statute of the youth federation of Serbia does not allow such a procedure.

The proposed statute of the Vojvodina Veterans' Federation, the provisions of which envisage that delegates for the republican committee of the Serbian Veterans' Federation be elected by the Provincial Assembly of the Vojvodina Veterans' Federation, is now being publicly debated.

Thus we see that on the broad front of sociopolitical organization, a revision of the valid statutory principles on the establishment of the top organs of sociopolitical organizations in the republic has started. In some aspects this revision has been implemented in practice, contrary to the valid statutes of sociopolitical organizations and without a preliminary debate in the republic. The course toward these changes has been strongly manifested and thus the changes have been carried out without any serious debate on their consequences. One of the consequences lies in the fact that the compact delegation acts as the champion of the interests of the province, in the context of which the authentic interests of narrower environments -- work organizations, municipalities and other self-managing organizations and communities -- are not considered.

In the work of the highest organs of sociopolitical organizations at the republican level we are witnessing a practice which is gaining more and more momentum: In debates on various social issues, delegates from Serbia proper present various views and opinions, which is only natural, while the delegates from the province speak in a unified manner because they are in fact the provincial representatives in these bodies and not representatives of municipal organizations, which would be more natural and in the spirit of the norms in force. This is also one of the reasons for the highest organs of republican sociopolitical organizations becoming more and more in fact political bodies of Serbia proper by the problems they discuss and by the scope of the attitudes and conclusions they adopt. All this leads more and more to separation than to linkage and unity. I think that such a situation calls for urgent action in the direction of establishing relations that would be in line with our basic orientations and the valid constitutional and statutory norms.

Comrades, in my report, as can be seen, I have dealt with three areas in which the constitutional and statutory relations in our republic are established and built, and I have analyzed them from the point of view of their development in practice and practical life.

The degree of their development demonstrates best how and on what foundations the self-managing and political togetherness and unity in the republic is built. No matter how much it is demonstrated that in the sphere of associating and linking associated labor, in the degree of the development of the political system and in the relations in sociopolitical organizations we have still not built a satisfactory degree of unity and togetherness, it is fundamental that we confirm the directions along which we shall seek further solutions and build the social practice. Hence, we shall build them on the basis of self-managing relations and ties in associated labor, in the whole of our republic, on the full affirmation of the constitutional autonomy of the provinces and on the constitutional togetherness and unity of the republic. Any other approach, be it the one that would lead to centralization in the republic and the violation of autonomy, be it the one that would lead to the isolation of the autonomous provinces and to their separation from the republic, is outside the policy of the Serbian League of Communists. Within such a framework there is room for debate and for a search for solutions for the problems that we have observed or that we have not yet resolved. Beyond this framework are nationalistic forces which look in centralized or decentralized etatism for opportunities and possibilities for their destructive manifestation. Among them is also Serbian nationalism, which does not like our provinces and which sees the future of the republic in a republic organized as an etatist-centralized republic.

This time, as always up to now, the Serbian League of Communists not only does not accept nationalistic solutions but it will settle accounts with them in every area.

We are holding a discussion and are seeking new and even better solutions for our socialist future based on self-management and full equality of nations and nationalities of our republic, and we are making a contribution to the strengthening of the power and unity of socialist Yugoslavia.

25 Dec Session

LD260002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, Dec (TANJUG) -- The constitutionally defined relations within the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Serbia are not consistently implemented in practice. It is, therefore, necessary to regulate these relations in keeping with the Constitution, particularly in the fields of the all-people's defence, security, international relations and economic planning.

The above are the basic, common points made so far in the discussion of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee session which opened yesterday. The session is devoted to strengthening unity and fellowship within the constituent republic.

Serbia is the only Yugoslav Constituent Republic which has autonomous provinces -- Vojvodina and Kosovo. The autonomous provinces are directly represented in all federal forums. The objective of the current session is to adjust stands on the place and role of [words indistinct] of Serbia, one of the six states within the Yugoslav federation.

At the session today, attempts at drawing the provinces away from the Republic of Serbia were sharply criticised, the view was put forth that the provinces have communicated with the republic through the federation. The recent unrest in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo have shown that the province-republic relations within the republic "do not exist in practice", a participant in the discussion said. It was also cited, as an example, that the law on all-people's defence in Serbia has not yet been passed due to the different stands of the republic and its provinces, although work on the bill had begun back in 1974.

The opinion that it is necessary consistently to implement the constitutional provisions has been strongly in evidence so far. This, it has been stressed, means the realization of the constitutional competences of both the republic and the provinces as it does also the prevention of both attempts at drawing the provinces away from the republic and centralist tendencies.

It has also been proposed that working conclusions on the question be passed and submitted for adoption at the next League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee session set for January.

So far, some 70 participants of the session have taken the floor. Another thirty speakers have applied. The session is expected to end tomorrow.

Representatives of all political structures of the republic and the two provinces are attending the session.

Stambolic, Others Speak 26 Dec

LD262350 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG) -- After a report by Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic and a discussion in which about 60 Central Committee members have so far taken part over the past 2 days, the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee today resumed its discussion on the tasks of the Serbian League of Communists in the realization of the constitution and the further building and consolidation of unity and togetherness in the Serbian Socialist Republic.

The analysis of the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary attacks on the integrity of our republic and of Yugoslavia and on the foundations of our social and state order inevitably take us back to the complex questions of relations in the Serbian Socialist Republic, because it was in our Republic that the attempt at counterrevolution was made, Ivan Stambolic said.

He added that it is natural that following the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, these always topical and often avoided and delayed questions and problems should have returned to the center of attention of the Serbian League of Communists. At the same time, the broader comprehension of everything which has preceded this and of what has created the conditions for the attempt at counterrevolution and the consequences which we are subsequently suffering have provided and are providing a realistic verdict on our former discussions, including those of 1977, on everything that we have done to resolve the questions which face us today.

Stambolic went on to mention examples which demonstrate the correctness of the conclusions adopted by the LCY on 7 May according to which it is necessary, inter alia, to grasp and analyze relations inside the Serbian Socialist Republic and also the republic's functioning as a state community.

Stambolic noted that the concluding documents on these discussions have already been passed to the members of the League of Communists and to municipal committees. Every serious analysis of these documents and of what happened during that period, Stambolic said, have shown that we constructed them on the basis of the then erroneous estimate, and therefore even the attempts at counterrevolution came as a surprise to all of us. It is in this reality that our responsibility lies and this should be admitted courageously and communist-like. After all, independent of this, the verdict on the results of these discussions was pronounced by the attempt at the counterrevolution in Kosovo itself in the worst and roughest way possible.

This, presumably, is no longer a matter of dispute among us. There can only be disputes over why and how we arrived at such an erroneous appraisal and over what our concrete responsibility is in this connection.

As for the approach to the settling of concrete questions and problems in relations between the republic and the provinces, Stambolic said that there have been no major differences between the two provinces' attitudes toward and way of approaching these affairs. He also cited fresh examples, including a letter from the Vojvodina Executive Council, in which the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia was informed about the rejection of a proposal to reach an agreement to coordinate mutual visits.

At this moment we must clearly see, Stambolic went on, that there is a significant shift toward a more uniform view of the republic and its provinces, toward a joint approach to unity, togetherness and cooperation in Serbia. This has manifested itself not only during recent months, but also at this session, despite the continuing existence of increasingly small differences.

I have impression, Stambolic said inter alia, that in the activity of the Vojvodina League of Communists between 8 May and the session of the Provincial Committee held a few days ago there were several elements which, from day to day, imposed a burden on the political atmosphere and relations thus narrowing the scope for the constructive discussion and settling of such complex questions. Much effort and courage will be needed to overcome all that. Today I presume that the vast majority of us agree that the citizens of Vojvodina and members of the Vojvodina League of Communists were erroneously told that the constitutional status of the province has been called into question at the Central Committee sessions. Disinformation of this kind threatens to disorientate the Vojvodina League of Communists and turn it away from the creative and constructive discussion on the realization of the constitutional positions of the provinces and the republic.

Insisting on the existence of a political threat to the province demands that, naturally, an enemy be found. The only choice can be unitarists, centralists, hegemonists. It goes without saying that they do exist. They would like to abolish not only the provinces, but the republics as well. We too talk about them and struggle against them and will go on struggling against them for a long time, Stambolic stressed.

He added that the problem lies in the fact that "these opponents are sought among us who are taking part in discussions on relations in the republic", so that the discussion of practical issues has been unnecessarily ideologized. At the same time, the discussion about the position of the provinces and the position of the republic has so far been based on quotations from the constitutions, resolutions and on repetitions of declarations about what we are in favor of as well as ideological qualifications of what we are against. We are not asking who has provoked whom, who has attacked whom and we are not looking for culprits. We want to solve problems.

A communist debate implies, Stambolic added, all our program orientations and demands their continuous verification in practice. A critical analysis of implementing the constitutional position of the province and of the republic also implies the responsibility which these rights imply. For us, in the final analysis, the most important question is not whether the Serbian Socialist Republic, as a united state, will disintegrate and become federalized. It is much more important whether we will, as a society in Yugoslavia, disintegrate. Certainly, this also depends on the reply to the question about the federalization of Serbia.

The Serbian Socialist Republic can fall into an even greater crisis only if a crisis arises in the Serbian League of Communists. Hence the quite decisive demand of this session and of everything which we hear outside of it is the demand for unity. Unity is needed more than ever before. I must say that in implementing this unity we must have a very developed political feeling for some matters which only appear to be of minor significance. At times we must have a developed political feeling for shades and accents. It is, for instance, not a good thing for the sessions of the LCY Central Committees and of the Serbian League of Communists to discuss the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the Provincial Committee of Vojvodina to discuss the activities in connection with the events in Kosovo. I say this because the Vojvodina League of Communists is objectively in a position to help and contribute much to the settling of accounts with the counterrevolutionary slogan "Kosovo -- a Republic", the general meaning of which is "the province -- a republic." I think that in view of the conditions in which we have found ourselves we have waited too long for this to be said clearly in Vojvodina as well, namely, that a province cannot be a republic. I think that had we also clearly stated in the report of the Vojvodina Provincial Committee that a province cannot be a republic, we would have avoided many disputes on the constitutional position of the republics and provinces and started more speedily to remove the errors and omissions. This would also have been a genuine help for communists in Kosovo who are fighting on the side of the revolution. At that time, and since then, instead of and as opposed to the sessions of two Central Committees there has been the overemphasized assessment that the province and not the republic is threatened by counterrevolution. Were we to stray along such paths because we have not clarified matters and understood one another and invented counterrevolutionary attempts also where they do not exist, we would play into the hands of the real enemies, Ivaa Stambolic stressed at the end of his statement.

Dragomir Milojevic stressed that communists, working people and citizens express concern for and hope that all the problems in society can be resolved more quickly and efficiently. They also show concern for the solving of topical problems of relations inside the Serbian Socialist Republic. The question which is asked is, where does this lead and whom does it serve?

Only tested enemies of our political system, Milojevic went on, all types of nationalists, liberalists, anarcho-liberalists, dogmatists, bureaucrats, all types of etatists can experience malicious pleasure about the negative phenomena and difficulties which we are discussing. In the same vein, their satisfaction also causes types of behavior which are not in line with the program and goals of the League of Communists' policy or with the spirit and provisions of the SFRY Constitution, of the Serbian Socialist Republic Constitution and the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces.

These same enemies often offer us solutions which are contrary to our system and alien to the League of Communists. This is sometimes done in a very perfidious manner and veiled by slogans which are accepted at their face value. It is also our responsibility to recognize such offers, to reject them firmly and to struggle uncompromisingly against all enemies. This is what we are talking about today.

In the discussions at the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee as well as here at the session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, Milojevic went on, the assertion is made that the republic offers etatism, subordination, the hierarchy of organs, change of the constitution, unacceptable settling of relations under the shield of togetherness and unity. It is asserted that this would threaten equality, that it would reduce the rights of the socialist autonomous provinces in the federation in the implementation of the functions of the provinces as a constitutive element of the federation, and so forth.

Firstly, there are no concrete examples or arguments for this. What we heard are not examples or arguments for this. Secondly, an atmosphere is created with such assertions which is not conducive to togetherness and unity but which separates us even further inside the republic. Thirdly, I think that this cannot be a contribution either to togetherness, unity in the country as a whole, or to brotherhood and togetherness on the foundations of self-management and the constitution.

Slavko Veselinov said that at the 78th session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, the introductory report stated that one of the basic problems of the weakening of the unity in the Serbian League of Communists is the separation of its parts in the provinces into practically independent entities and that the only thing left of the unity of the Serbian League of Communists is its (?external) aspects. As an argument, among other things, it was said that on the eve of the 11th LCY Congress, the question of introducing congresses as the highest forums in the League of Communists of the provinces as well as of constituting Central Committees as the highest organs in the provinces had been raised and that this demand has recently again been renewed by representatives of the Vojvodina League of Communists.

This proposal was discussed at the 14th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, in the speech by Comrade Dragoslav Markovic, in the report for this session and in other speeches in the debate. Since this involves my own proposal, I consider it an obligation to explain to the Central Committee what is at stake.

My proposal, Veselinov said, has not been accurately presented. I have been proposing that League of Communists congresses in the provinces constitute the highest forums but I have never proposed anywhere that central committees constitute the highest organs of the League of Communists in the provinces. At the session of the LCY Central Committee I was elected as member of the commission for organizational and statutory questions for the preparation of the 12th LCY Congress. I made my proposal on my own behalf and not on behalf of an organ of the Vojvodina League of Communists.

Regarding this proposal, the working group of the LCY Central Committee Commission, which Comrade Spiro Galovic also attended, decided that the proposal should not be entered in the material of the commission but that it should be discussed beforehand by Serbian League of Communists organs because it referred to the relations between the provincial League of Communists and the Serbian League of Communists. This is entirely correct. The same obligation was assumed by Comrade Spiro Galovic. Instead of acting in this way, the proposer publicly and politically disqualified himself at the Central Committee session, at several sessions of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and at some aktivists' meetings in municipalities. Who has the right to politically disqualify a League of Communists member for the proposals which he presented at the League of Communists, at its legal bodies as early as the stage of democratic debate?

I think that such a practice is incompatible with our democratic relations in the LCY and in the Serbian League of Communists and if it continues, the battle of opinions will be halted.

Veselinov also asked why this proposal is being linked with counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and with enemy slogans. Furthermore, he asked why democratic relations in the League of Communists by individual leading people are being so crudely undermined? I made my proposal and I do not consider it to be some kind of political heresay. I founded my proposal on the provisions of the LCY statute, which regulate relations between the League of Communists of the republics and the provinces.

Another question is why has this proposal been recently used as a political disqualification of the Vojvodina League of Communists and its organs? This has also been used at the same time as an argument to prove the separation of the Vojvodina League of Communists from the Serbian League of Communists, Veselinov said. He advocated that "we should clarify the question of the status of the Serbian League of Communists and of the provincial League of Communists in it." By the LCY statute, the Serbian League of Communists is not a uniform organization. This is not a question of terminology. Only the LCY is a uniform organization. Were the republics' League of Communists to be uniform organizations then this would mean federalism in the party. We have not said so either in the LCY statute or in the Serbian League of Communists statute. It is untenable that provincial League of Communists have one statute in the LCY and a different one in the Serbian League of Communists. Some statements are directed at disputing the independence, equality and equal responsibilities of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces in the LCY and thus also their statute in the Serbian League of Communists.

Thus, is democratic centralism in force in the Serbian League of Communists? Yes. But, Veselinov said, it must be arrived at in the manner pointed out by Comrade Tito when he said that in the application of democratic centralism in our community, the method of mutual agreement reaching is increasingly coming to the fore.

Why have these questions from the chapter of general principles of the LCY statute, section six, not been elaborated on by the Serbian League of Communists? Another question arises, does this mean that there are differences between the LCY and the Serbian League of Communists? I do not think that what is involved is either an omission or a misunderstanding of the relations in the LCY and of the provincial League of Communists in the Serbian League of Communists but that it is a question of the Serbian League of Communists's nonacceptance when it comes to the established position of the provincial League of Communists.

The strength of democratic centralism has always depended on whether the unity in the League of Communists is the result of conscious or mechanical discipline. Democratic centralism is not a bogyman with which the politico-executive organs frighten the members of the leaderships and members of the League of Communists for an opinion expressed or a question posed in their own organ, sporadic examples of which have occurred recently.

The implementation of the decisions from 1977, which decisions are built into the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Serbian LC, was raised at the 14th Session of the Serbian League of Communists in an unacceptable fashion, said Veselinov. I think that the politico-executive organ of the Central Committee and the most responsible comrades in the republic cannot issue the account of their political responsibility for failure to implement the adopted decisions and congress documents in someone else's name. It has been shown that the members of the Central Committee are not informed in the best way possible about all documentation and issues. If we want to participate equally, creatively, responsibly, then members of the League of Communists Central Committee must be informed properly. For instance, Veselinov said, Comrade Dragoslav Markovic spoke about that "blue book", saying that it was not rejected. The documentation adopted on that occasion stated that this material was rejected as unacceptable from the ideological and political standpoint.

If this is not correct, let us realize this and not confuse matters. Let us not misinform members of the Central Committee. Veselinov also commented on the way of drafting material for this session.

Vaso Milincevic said that while asserting that history cannot be changed, and that the spiritual treasure of the Serbian people, created over the centuries, cannot be mechanically split up and disintegrated, the division into Vojvodinians and inhabitants of Serbia proper is unscientific and arbitrary. Even though there was polarization in the past, this was not on the territorial-administrative principle, but on ideological bases, as progressive-democratic and conservative-bureaucratic. All this points to the fact that creative, linguistic and ideological permeations among Serbian writers born in modern Vojvodina and those orginally from Serbia were so numerous, as to make it possible to speak only of a unified literature, a unified spiritual orientation.

In our cultural heritage it is clearly necessary to differentiate what is national, and what is nationalistic, what should be affirmed as valuable, and what should be rejected as dregs of the past and the expression of modern reactionary and nationalistic concertions.

Milomir Petrovic said that through the reform process education was to bring about, or rather, in education there was to be brought about greater linkage and consolidation of unity and togetherness, while in fact stagnation has come about, something which was spoken about at the 10th Session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

The difficulties which were manifested in this year's registration of students from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina at universities in Serbia did not derive from some bureaucratic-centralist decisions, as the Yugoslav public was informed by Novi Sad television but came about because the teaching programs in Serbia and between the provinces differ. I do not wish to say who is more or less responsible for this. I think that the chief responsibility lies on all sectors of our socialist republic. Today the only textbook used in all our educational organizations is the textbook for all-people's defense and social self-protection. We do not have a single other standard textbook.

Much has been said about unity in the Serbian League of Communists, Radomir Banjac said. Almost everyone has demanded that that unity, which has been shaken, should be very quickly and urgently returned. Down at the grass roots in the organizations of the League of Communists and among working people unity is firm and stable. Unity is thus disrupted in the leadership. I think this is a bad thing, and that it should be sought and vigorously demanded that unity is respected to the end. Those who destroy that unity should take account of the consequences, and of what the grass roots, which elected them or delegated them to the leadership, thinks of them. They are there to work, to expound, to create and not to put a wrench in the works. The clashes or misunderstandings which came about and which, so to speak, have been smouldering since 1977 should have at once been brought out at a Central Committee Session; 4 years should not have been allowed to pass until we were informed about these problems. The 1977 decisions should not have been kept a great secret. In my opinion this is a bad thing, it should not be allowed to happen, and it should serve as a lesson.

The leader who does not create, who does not work in the spirit of the Constitution, statues, programs and other documents of the LCY, cannot remain in a leading post or position. He who votes for the appropriate decisions, conclusions and standpoints of the League of Communists, while doing otherwise, must be expelled from the League of Communists and must be divorced from it, Banjac concluded.

Viobran Stanojevic said that a number of participants in the debate have raised the question: Should the problems in the relations in the republic be linked with the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

Comrade Minic has raised the question: Has it been useful to discuss parallel with the efforts to destroy counterrevolution the question of relations in the Serbian Socialist Republic and furthermore, I quote:

"I am not convinced even today whether when the question of the relations in the republic is raised in direct connection with the counterrevolution in Kosovo it is useful to the struggle of communists of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia to overcome counterrevolution and normalize the situation in Kosovo."

I am convinced, comrades, that if the discussion runs parallel with the issue of resolving weaknesses inside the republic and inside the Serbian League of Communists, it does contribute to the strengthening of unity and togetherness in the Serbian Socialist Republic and thus also to the strengthening of unity of the SFRY. It is certain that in working as we are we are restricting even more the space for the activity of the internal and foreign enemy.

Furthermore, it is not unfounded to ask the question: Does the weakened unity and incomplete togetherness inside the Serbian Socialist Republic influence -- and if so how -- the self-managing relations in the republics? The answer would certainly be yes, it does influence them, and negatively at that.

If such a situation lasts (as it has for a number of years already), it means that it will exert a negative influence on the self-managing relations. These self-managing relations cracked where they have been at their weakest, where the forces of security and self-protection have been at their weakest and of course this has contributed to the counterrevolution taking place.

In order to promote unity and better linking up within the framework of the republic we communists in the Serbian Socialist Republic must not space either ourselves or others; it is our particular duty to put an end firmly to everything and to everybody who continues to weaken this unity by his behavior, Viobran Stanojevic stressed.

Several participants in the debate have asked how could the undermining of the unity of the state security have taken place. They plead for the need that this unity to reestablished as soon as possible.

I am conscious of the fact that in the past few years much has been disrupted in relations between the republic and the provinces. This is one of the most sensitive areas of our society in the sphere of security.

Only by the method of coordinating the work of the state security service in the Serbian Socialist Republic, conditions for the Presidency of the Serbian Socialist Republic and the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection alone could not be ensured for them to carry out their constitutional functions fully and completely in the sphere of the protection of the constitutional order.

I could list several examples which confirm that not even the highest organs of the Serbian Socialist Republic have been able to exert an influence on the estimate of the situation in the province and thus also on a change of this situation.

Several speakers in the debate, Stanojevic went on, have asked the question whether the state security service is now, following the counterrevolution, better organized than before. Seen as a whole, efforts to destroy counterrevolution in Kosovo are also at the same time efforts to organize the sector of security in the Serbian Socialist Republic in a way which will make it possible for the Presidency of the Serbian Socialist Republic and the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection to carry out its functions laid down by the Serbian Socialist Republic Constitution. Now I can say yes. As we progress in destroying the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo so the consciousness about the need for togetherness in all responsible people in security services in the republic too is increasingly strengthening.

After our debate, Tihomir Vlaskalic said at the end of the debate, a great burden of responsibility toward the Serbian League of Communists and toward the LCY, toward our entire public in the republic and in the country, has been placed upon all of us, upon the Central Committee, upon all members of the Central Committee, upon the Central Committee Presidium and the president of the Central Committee.

I agree with the proposal for the decisions to be drawn up for the next Central Committee session, Vlaskalic went on.

The result of our debate, however, should not be solely the decisions which we adopt. We must derive many lessons, both collective and personal, and especially personal lessons. I am thinking here of the personal responsibility of each of us in the function of strengthening unity in the League of Communists.

One of the lessons is also that it is not always fitting to turn back to the past and to things which have become outmoded. Sometimes turning back to the past is necessary, even essential, but it is not necessary and essential if it hampers debate, if it creates confusion, if it complicates a solution. For this reason I am not an adherent of the proposal for the 1977 documents to be distributed to the members of the Central Committee or to municipal committees. They exist in Central Committee files, and any member of the Central Committee who is interested may come and see them.

No matter how wide-ranging and keen our debate was, and sometimes even controversial and polemical, and with, for me, overtones which were not always the right ones, it was essentially a progressive debate, for it protected and defended the basic values of our unity and community, Vlaskalic said.

In conclusion, because of the public which has very attentively followed our 3-day debate with interest but also with a certain anxiety and concern, I wish on behalf of the Central Committee to say that the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee stands unshakeably on the course of the LCY and Comrade Tito. Within this framework and in this direction, it is conducting this and other debates and seeking solutions for our further social progress. Nationalist, centralist or separatist approaches do not fall within this framework, our demarcation line is precise and clear, and I think that I can, on behalf of all of us, say that we shall not deviate from that line, Vlaskalic concluded.

Spiro Galavic proposed that the Central Committee adopt Tihomir Vlaskalic's report on the tasks of the Serbian League of Communists in further developing and strengthening the unity and togetherness in the Serbian Socialist Republic as an ideopolitical basis for further activity of the Serbian League of Communists.

The Central Committee adopted this proposal.

The Central Committee charged the session's working group with drafting decisions for the next session. The decisions should express in concise form the meaning and essence of the critical and open debate which has been held.

Stanojevic Address 26 Dec

AU271443 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Report on speech by Viobran Stanojevic, Serbian secretary for the interior, at the 18th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in Belgrade on the afternoon of 26 December]

[Text] Viobran Stanojevic said that problems of our togetherness have become deeper with time. It snapped where the links were the weakest: in Kosovo. We have closed ourselves up and pulled apart. Such a situation must be overcome, Viobran Stanojevic pointed out.

[Begin Stanojevic recording] With the aim of advancing unity and better links with the republic, we, the communists of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, must not spare ourselves of efforts nor those of others, and we are especially obliged to stand energetically in the way of everything and all who continue to weaken this unity with their behavor. Such forces have existed, are existing and will exist. We must be aware of it.

I think that various stories that have been spread in Serbia and beyond do not help. I would also like to speak a little about things outside Serbia. We are one community, and if anything is wrong in any part of our country, in any part of Yugoslavia, it is wrong in Yugoslavia. If anything is good anywhere in Yugoslavia, it is good for Yugoslavia. Therefore, the stories that comrades in Serbia react in an emotional way, and that, exaggerating the counterrevolution, they want to exploit it and grab more power for the republic and so forth do not lead anywhere. [end recording]

Viobran Stanojevic then spoke about the undermining of unity in the state security, how it came about and what can be done to overcome it.

[Begin Stanojevic recording] I have witnessed that in the past few years, many things have gone wrong in the relations between the republic and the province precisely in this most sensitive area which is called social self-protection, security and even state security. This is curious and it is not in order, but it has happened.

Why has it happened and who is responsible? According to the law, we could only harmonize the work of the three state security services under the responsibility of the republican and the two provincial secretaries. Have we carried it out as we should have? We have not carried it out as we should have. With this method of harmonization only we have not been able to ensure that the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of Serbia carry out their functions.

For instance, in 1977 a proposal was made to issue uniform instructions on mutual information of internal affairs organs in Serbia. Mutual information is the first condition for good quality cooperation of the three secretaries of this kind, of internal affairs. Here we also have state security. It is within the framework of the secretariat for internal affairs.

The proposal was rejected by both provincial secretaries despite the fact that the three of us met and discussed it at length. It was explained that such joint instructions are unnecessary because there are federal instructions on mutual information among the secretariats of the republics and provinces and so forth.

In order that the service may be uniform -- I don't think that there are many differences of views here -- it is indispensable that it should have a uniform appraisal. As we progress in breaking up the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo, the awareness is getting stronger and stronger that togetherness is needed among all those responsible for the security services in the republic.

The three secretaries -- the two provincial ones, the two comrades from the provinces and I -- have recently agreed to set up a united inspectorate which would assess the realization of the work program of the state security services in the republic -- at the level of provinces, that is -- as regards their annual activities according to the sectors of work and of course case by case. The inspectorate will begin to carry out its tasks as of 1 January 1982.

I am convinced that without any effort we will come to the conclusion that it is necessary to have a united program of annual work, or work through several years, for the security services as regards the basic key problems of the security of the republic. Likewise I believe that there is a need to set up some common basis for the several problems of joint interests in the field of public security. The problem of public peace and order under the present conditions not only in our country, but I believe in Europe and in the world as well, is becoming a more and more important problem of security of the state organization.

Korac Address

AU262058 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Report on speech by member Miladin Korac at the 18th Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in Belgrade on 26 December afternoon]

[Text] Assessing Tihomir Vlaskalic's report as a good basis for a calm and constructive discussion, Miladin Korac stressed that during the 3-day session of the Central Committee, one heard some voice indicating not very constructive dialogues between the representatives of the provinces and the republic. He assessed that the speeches by Pasko Romac and Stole Jankovic did not contribute to the work of the Central Committee on the line of building a platform for the work of the League of Communists. Korac advocated that one should look back less and that actual problems should be solved more. He also assessed that it was a pity that there were few people in the republic defending the provinces' autonomy and vice versa, that there were not enough people in the province defending togetherness.

Returning to the specific tasks of the Central Committee session, Korac said:

[Begin Korac recording] I propose that in addition to what will be written in the conclusions, the points from Comrade Vlaskalic's report which are beyond dispute should also be included. It is beyond dispute that there are four problems which must be solved as soon as possible in the Republic of Serbia (?with the socialist provinces). These are: national defense, security, foreign relations and planning. Nobody has disputed these, even if some may have a different personal opinion. It should be put into the conclusions that this Central Committee imposes the obligation on respective organs that these matters must be solved by the next elections.

I would add some thing else, but the Central Committee may not accept it. Of course we may state that certain state and social institutions are obliged to implement this. But for this Central Committee's assurance, I would say the following: that Vlaskalic, Veli Deva, Bosko Krunic, Ckrebic and Vidic are responsible to this Central Committee as communists -- we know that they are officials -- as communists, for the implementation of these points before the elections. [end recording]

Plenum Ends 26 Dec

LD262020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Serivce in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee ended its 3-day session this evening. The debate ended on the tasks of the Serbian League of Communists in implementing the constitution and on the further development and strengthening of unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The Central Committee adopted Tihomir Vlaskalic's report as the ideopolitical foundation for the further activity of the League of Communists, while a working group elected at the beginning of this session, was entrusted with preparing a proposal of conclusions for the conclusions for the next session of the Serbain League of Communists Central Committee.

The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee also adopted the decision on reducing the membership fee in the Serbian League of Communists and the proposal submitted by the Provincial Committee of Kosovo League of Communists that Fahredin Gunga be expelled from the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

Plenum Results Discussed

LD272324 Belgrade TANJUC in English 1600 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG) -- The attention of the Yugoslav public over the past three days focused on the Central Committee session of the League of Communists of Serbia. The debate clearly showed that there is no departure from the self-management path and the constitutional concept of this Yugoslav republic, nor from the concept and position of the two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. They are a part of this Yugoslav republic and at the same time a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation.

Participants in the debate which occasionally was hot and polemical, included 86 out of the 140 Central Committee members. The debate was entirely open, democratic and public.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia is unanimous in that the self-management concept of the Yugoslav society to which President Tito gave a powerful imprint is a lasting commitment, and that on this path "there is no room for nationalistic, centralist or separatist approaches."

The Central Committee came out for the consistent implementation of the constitution and the realization in practice of a higher degree of cooperation concerning a number of vital questions -- primarily the defence, economic development, international relations and security.

The elements of commonality have of recent been weakened and opinions have been heard on the need for greater autonomy than that defined by the constitution.

LC of Serbia Central Committee President Tihomir Vlaskalic's introductory report was unanimously adopted. On the basis of the report and very comprehensive discussion, the conclusions on concrete questions of the consolidation of togetherness in the Yugoslav constituent Republic of Serbia will be presented to the Central Committee in the first half of January. The work on the preparations of the draft conclusions was entrusted to five Central Committee members -- president of the Republican Presidency of Serbia Dobrivoje Bosko Krunic, president of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo Keli Deva, president of the Republican Assembly of Serbia Dusan Ckrebic and secretary of the LC of Serbia Central Committee Spiro Galovic.

The Republic of Serbia is the only one of the six Yugoslav constituent republics which in its composition also has two autonomous provinces.

The Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Vojvodina has the population of about 2 million people mostly Serbs, then Hungarians and a number of members of other nationalities. The Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo -- where nationalist and irredentist elements caused unrests last spring under the slogan that the province should become a republic, that is, to have a state status within the framework of the Yugoslav federation -- also has the population of some 2 million people of whom some 75 percent are Albanians.

The three-day [words indistinct] in the LC of Serbia Central Committee is assessed in circles of the participants in the session as a deepening of the process of further democratization of the Yugoslav society. There was not an element of disagreement regarding constitutional solutions on the autonomy of the provinces and the need for fuller realization of togetherness and unity in the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Serbia.